The Outlook

Volume 84 Saturday, November 17, 1906 Number 12

CONTENTS

THE WEEK

The Elections:
New York 639
New England 640
New Jersey 640
Pennsylvania 641
The West 642
Mr. Root's Speech at Utica 643
San Francisco and the Japanese Children 644
President Roosevelt's Visit to Panama .. 645
Drastic but Necessary Discipline 645
The Illinois Central Contest 646
Twentieth Century Pilgrims 647
The Young Men's Christian Association's Annual Dinner 647
Church and State in France 648
A Liberal Policy 650

EDITORIALS

Which? Plutocracy or Democracy? 650
The Agnosticism of Abraham Lincoln .. 654
Knowledge and Peace 655

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES

Cleveland's Traction Struggle 657
By George C. Sikes
The Health of School-Children 662
By G. W. Wharton
My Fetish Bible 666
By Jeanette Parker
Industrial Democracy: The Trade Union and Democracy 669
By John Graham Brooks

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

Labor Laws 674
Comment on Current Books 676

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK 684

THE OUTLOOK is a Weekly Newspaper and an Illustrated Monthly Magazine in one. It is published every Saturday—fifty-two issues a year. The fourth issue in each month is an Illustrated Magazine Number, containing about twice as many pages as the regular weekly issue, and many pictures.

PRICE.—The subscription price is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.

POSTAGE IS PREPAID by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai, Canal Zone, Cuba, Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add $1.56 for postage.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.—When a change of address is ordered, both the new and the old address must be given. The notice should be sent one week before the change is to take effect.

DISCONTINUANCES.—If a subscriber wishes his copy of The Outlook discontinued at the expiration of his subscription, notice to that effect should be sent. Otherwise it is assumed that a continuance of the subscription is desired.

HOW TO REMIT.—Remittances should be sent by Draft on New York, Express-Order, or Money-Order, payable to order of THE OUTLOOK COMPANY. Cash should be sent in Registered Letter.

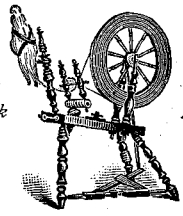
LETTERS should be addressed:

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY
287 Fourth Avenue, New York

Chicago Office, 1436 Marquette Building

Copyright, 1906, by the Outlook Company. Entered as second-class matter in the New York Post-Office.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Registered Trade Mark

Established Half a Century

EMBROIDERY

On Handkerchiefs, Table Linens, etc.

For Holiday Gifts

The embroidering of Initials, Monograms, Crests, etc., has long been a specialty at "The Linen Store," and each year we execute thousands of orders for work of this character.

The demand immediately preceding the Holidays, however, is usually so great that we are obliged to decline many orders owing to the fact that they arrive too late to be executed in time for Christmas.

The best results in fine needlework cannot be obtained if the work is done hurriedly. We, therefore, suggest to our patrons the advisability of forwarding at the very earliest date possible their holiday orders, so as to insure the best work and satisfactory delivery.

We publish a little folder which shows a great variety of Initials, Monograms, etc., suitable for handkerchiefs, which we are glad to forward to anyone upon request.

Our Holiday stock of Handkerchiefs is now ready and offers the widest possible opportunity for individual choice and preference. As heretofore, we show only strictly pure linen goods. During the next few weeks selections can be made much more comfortably and satisfactorily than at a later date.

MAIL ORDERS HAVE OUR PROMPT ATTENTION

"The Linen Store"

James McCutcheon & Co., 14 West 23d Street, New York

TO INVESTORS

We offer at 105 and accrued interest, subject to prior sale an issue of the thirty-year gold debenture bonds of the corporation of PARK & TILFORD, bearing

6% INTEREST

payable semi-annually in New York on June 1 and December 1. Principal due June 1, 1936. Coupon Bonds of $500 and $1,000 each, with provision for registration of principal and release from registry. Entire issue or any part redeemable at 110 and accrued interest on any interest day at the option of the Company.

The corporation of Park & Tilford is organized under the laws of the State of New York and is the successor of the old firm of Park & Tilford, which commenced business in the city of New York in 1840. For nearly seventy years it has occupied a very prominent position as wholesale and retail dealer in fancy groceries, etc., etc. The corporation now operates five stores, situated in various sections of the city, and enjoys a lucrative and high-grade patronage.

We recommend these bonds as a safe, permanent investment. We shall be glad to furnish full information concerning the security to persons desiring it.

The issues of The Outlook for October 20th and 27th each contain a full page announcement of these bonds.

MACKAY & CO., Bankers

Nassau and Pine Sts., New York

13 Congress St. Boston — The Rookery Building Chicago — 421 Chestnut St. Philadelphia

Nervous Disorders

The nerves need a constant supply of phosphates to keep them steady and strong. A deficiency of the phosphates causes a lowering of nervous tone, indicated by exhaustion, restlessness, headache or insomnia.

Horsford's Acid Phosphate

(Non-Alcoholic.)

furnishes the phosphates in a pure and abundant form. It supplies the nerve cells with health-giving life force, repairs waste, restores the strength and induces restful sleep without the use of dangerous drugs. **An Ideal Tonic in Nervous Diseases.**

If your druggist can't supply you we will send a small bottle, prepaid, on receipt of 25 cents.

Rumford Chemical Works, Providence, R. I.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Outlook

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1906

The Elections: New York

The personal rebuke administered to Mr. Hearst by the voters of the State of New York, with the corresponding vote of confidence in Mr. Hughes, has been made very evident. Mr. Hearst is the only candidate on the Democratic-Independence League State ticket who is certainly defeated, and he is defeated so decisively (by sixty thousand votes) that not even he has the audacity to ascribe the result to fraud. Whether his associates on the State ticket have been elected will be conclusively determined only by the official canvass of the votes. If they are proved to have won, several men will have risen from purely local positions to offices of considerable power in the State. The Attorney-General will have risen from the position of Assistant District Attorney of Erie County, the State Treasurer from the position of Supervisor of a small town on Long Island, the Comptroller from the ranks of local politicians in Albany, and the State Engineer, in charge of the enlarging of the Erie Canal, from the ranks of local politicians in Queens County. As a result, such bosses as "Packy" McCabe, of Albany, "Fingey" Conners, of Buffalo, and the notorious Cassidy, of Queens County, may regain some of their former prestige. If Mr. Jackson, the Democratic candidate for Attorney-General, who is a strong supporter of Mr. Hearst, assumes office, he may try, at Mr. Hearst's behest, by *quo warranto* proceedings, to oust Mayor McClellan from office and put Mr. Hearst into his place. Otherwise Mr. Hearst's personality as a political factor seems to have been temporarily eliminated. The anti-Hearst Democrats, under the leadership of ex-Mayor Thomas M. Osborne, of Auburn, apparently did effective work in causing Mr. Hearst to run behind his ticket in the upper part of the State, and "Pat" McCarren, the anti-Tammany boss of Brooklyn, damaged Mr. Hearst's cause in that borough; but, more than anything else, popular confidence in Mr. Hughes, coupled with the recently acquired habit of independent voting, secured the election of the Republican candidate. The most disheartening feature of the election in New York State is the overwhelming defeat of the "unbossed judges" in the district controlled by Tammany Hall. The only anti-Tammany judiciary candidate to be elected was the one Republican nominee not on the ticket of the Judiciary Nominators. What bodes most ill in this matter is that the elected candidates will not carry with them to the bench the confidence of the whole community. Since all but two owe their election to the deal between Mr. Murphy and Mr. Hearst, their course will be suspiciously watched when libel suits against Mr. Hearst and the contracts of Mr. Murphy's brother's firm are brought before the courts. It is to be hoped that the success of the Murphy-Hearst judiciary deal will not discourage those who are planning to call the Hearst newspapers to account for injuries attributed to them, or prevent a full ventilation of the Murphy contracts. That this is no small matter can be told from the fact, given with details by the New York Evening Post, that the contemplated suits against the Hearst newspapers involve about seven million dollars. One encouraging incident in the election in the State was the defeat of Representative Wadsworth. His constituents did not forget that he had vigorously and ably opposed the most effective measures for the reform of the beef-packing industry, and they elected his Demo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cratic opponent, who made his campaign on that issue. It is interesting to note that Mr. Wadsworth's son, who has made an excellent record as Speaker of the State Assembly, was at the same time re-elected as Assemblyman.

❀

The Elections: New England

Unless the official canvass changes the result on the face of the returns, the gubernatorial election in New Hampshire will be thrown into the Legislature. Mr. Floyd, the Republican candidate, received a small plurality, but according to the law of the State a majority over all other candidates is necessary to elect a man Governor, and this Mr. Floyd failed by ten votes to receive. In the Republican Convention Mr. Floyd was the compromise candidate of the pro-railway element against Mr. Winston Churchill, who made his fight against railway control of the State Government. Mr. Floyd's failure in such a strong Republican State confirms the conclusion drawn from the support received by Mr. Churchill, that the sentiment in favor of governmental control of the railways is widespread and determined. In Massachusetts the defeat of John B. Moran, the candidate of the Democratic and Prohibition parties and the Independence League, by the present Governor, Curtis Guild, is a repudiation of the Hearst methods and spirit. Mr. Moran has been a spectacular, but singularly ineffective, District Attorney. He made a campaign of much boasting and large promises. Undismayed by an adverse plurality of over 30,000, he has announced himself as a candidate for another year. In the midst of an era when voters are proclaiming their independence of boss rule, Rhode Island has been a boss stronghold. Governor Utter, although he defied the boss of his party, failed to convince enough voters that he was free from boss control, and was defeated by his Democratic opponent, Mayor Higgins, of Pawtucket, who is a recognized labor leader. The rest of the Republican State ticket was elected, but it is still doubtful whether the boss candidate for the United States Senate can be elected.

The Elections: New Jersey

The results of the election in New Jersey were very significant, and the Republican leaders are evidently in great uncertainty and anxiety. There is every reason why they should be. They received a very decided notice from the voters of the State that they must mend their ways or go out of power. In the present Congress New Jersey is represented by nine Republicans and one Democrat; in the next Congress the State will be represented by six Republicans and four Democrats. In the State Legislature of 1905 there are seventeen Republican and four Democratic Senators, and fifty-seven Republican and three Democratic Assemblymen; the Legislature of 1907 will consist of fifteen Republican and six Democratic Senators, and twenty-nine Republican and thirty-one Democratic Assemblymen, the net result being that the Democrats have gained three Congressmen and have secured control of the State Assembly. Various causes have been brought forward to explain this result. First, the people of the State are tired of being governed by the Prudential Life Insurance Company and the Public Service Corporation, and are fast making up their minds to resume the management of affairs themselves. For a number of years past the government of New Jersey has been in commission, so to speak. People have decided to discharge the commission and govern themselves. Second, Senator Dryden represents in the popular mind that confusion of business with politics and of politics with business which more than anything else has corrupted both business and politics, and which the people of the country have made up their minds to end in the interest of business and politics. Third, the new tax law passed by the Legislature last winter has given rise, in its operation, to many vexatious complications, and in a number of instances to unjust discriminations of assessments, with constant irritation. What is known as the Bishops' Act, passed by the Legislature last winter, compelling saloons to remove their screens on Sunday in order that the existing law against Sunday selling may be enforced, has also cut down the Re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

publican majority; but in this matter the party has suffered more from cowardice than from its legislative action. If it had stood bravely by that action, it would have lost fewer votes because of it and would have gained in moral support. There is one other result which it is to be hoped the election will secure, and that is the defeat of Senator Dryden in his endeavor to secure another term in the United States Senate. On joint ballot the New Jersey Legislature will stand forty-four Republicans and thirty-seven Democrats; necessary to a choice in the election of a United States Senator, forty-one. Of the forty-four Republicans, it is reported that three have publicly declared their opposition to the election of Mr. Dryden. He represents a phase of political life which is rapidly becoming a thing of the past, and belongs to a group of public men who in the near future will be retired to business life, where they properly belong. Nothing would give politics in New Jersey a healthier tone or do more to make a political career interesting to young men than the defeat of Senator Dryden and the election of a man like ex-Governor Griggs as his successor. Meantime, the Republican leaders in that State would do well to face the fact that unless they dissolve partnership with great corporate interests they are in grave danger of losing the support of a large body of their most intelligent voters; they have already alienated a very large number of the most disinterested and intelligent young men of the State.

❀

The Elections: Pennsylvania

After one of the hardest-fought contests in its history, Pennsylvania has elected the Republican ticket by a majority of 52,000, and carried the city of Philadelphia by majorities ranging from twelve to twenty-five thousand. This result, in the face of a majority of 88,000 for Berry, the Fusion candidate for State Treasurer, a year ago, and 50,000 in the city for the Fusion ticket, would seem at first glance to be a reversal of opinion and a defeat for the reform forces in the State. The Republican margin, however, is so narrow, as compared with its majority of 500,000 for Roosevelt two years ago, that there is a general feeling that there will be no return by the Republican machine to the old practices which resulted in its defeat of a year ago, and subjected the Republican organization to such extended and well-deserved criticism. Edwin S. Stuart, who has been elected Governor of Pennsylvania, owes his election very largely to his own high personal character and to the belief of the people that he will keep the promises he made during his campaign, and to the further fact that President Roosevelt was understood to be desirous of his election. The situation in Philadelphia differs somewhat from that in the State, and was complicated by the action of Mayor Weaver, who, on the Friday preceding election, declared he would support Stuart and Rotan, the Republican candidates for Governor and District Attorney, respectively. Mayor Weaver in his statement explained his position by declaring that the City Party was dominated by a newspaper oligarchy. D. C. Gibboney, the City Party's candidate for District Attorney, lost the respect of many voters by his course in heaping abuse upon Mayor Weaver. When, for instance, in reference to the Mayor's statement, Mr. Gibboney said, "I can see nothing in it but his sore leg and the leer of his treacherous face," he showed the same kind of vindictiveness and sensationalism that brought disaster to Moran in Massachusetts and Hearst in New York. The election in Philadelphia was generally conceded to be the quietest and cleanest for many years, the personal registration law and the Shern bill being largely responsible for this. As the City Party ticket was defeated by only about 12,000 majority, thoughtful reformers feel that the situation is by no means lost. The Republican candidates are men of excellent character, and the margin of their success is so narrow that the Republican leaders will be compelled to nominate strong men for all the offices next February, so that, whatever the outcome of that election, which will select a mayor as well as a majority of the local legislature, in all likelihood it will result in the choice of a higher

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

grade of men than the city has had for many years. The City Party has already begun its mayoralty campaign.

❀

The Elections: The Results in the West

The reaction from the phenomenal Republican pluralities of two years ago—a reaction which has reduced the Republican majority in the House of Representatives from 112 to about 60—is shown in a marked way in several of the Western contests. The Republicans, however, lost no States, with the exception of Missouri, which cast its vote for Republican candidates for the first time in its history in 1904, and now returns to the Democratic column. In Kansas the Democratic gain was large, and for a time it was thought that Governor Hoch had been defeated. It soon appeared, however, that his re-election had been secured by a majority of between 2,000 and 2,500—the smallest Republican majority ever polled in the State. Governor Hoch himself explains this falling off by the assertion that the Standard Oil Company has spent much money and effort to defeat him. In Ohio the Republican victory was complete and substantial, the plurality falling somewhere between 70,000 and 75,000. This is claimed by the adherents of Senator Dick and Senator Foraker to demonstrate their hold on the party, but it may at least be equally attributed to the lack of cohesion in the Democratic ranks, and to the fact also that the rank and file of the Republican party regarded the factional contest in the party as settled for the time by the primary vote. The result in Iowa is a little confusing; the reduction of Governor Cummins's majority from 70,000 to 20,000 might be regarded as a rebuke for his leaning toward reasonable tariff reform, but the fact that in the same State a brilliant and able representative of the "stand pat" doctrine, Mr. Lacey, was defeated as a candidate for Congress by the Democrats seems to indicate that the reduced majority for Governor Cummins was but part of the political reaction which has been evident in New York, New Jersey, Kansas, Missouri, and elsewhere. In California the Republican party won a complete and hard-earned victory in the election of James N. Gillett as Governor, while elation is felt by the best elements of both parties in the fact that in San Francisco all the candidates for the Judges of the Supreme Court supported by the notorious boss, Ruef, were, with perhaps one exception, defeated. The State will send a solid Republican delegation to Congress. The Rev. H. A. Buchtel, the Republican candidate for Governor of Colorado, defeated both his Democratic opponent, ex-Governor Alva Adams, and the independent candidate, Judge Lindsey, the famous Judge of the Juvenile Court in Denver. Very special interest was felt in the contest in Idaho, and the earnest and eloquent addresses made by Secretary Taft undoubtedly contributed a great deal to the result. The labor question, as represented by the agitation of the Western Federation of Miners, centered chiefly about the coming prosecution of President Moyer and Secretary Haywood, who are charged wtth the murder of the late Governor Steunenberg, as one act in the wretched and cruel labor war which for years has disturbed Colorado and Idaho. Those who supported the Republican candidate for Governor, Mr. Gooding, maintain, and Secretary Taft agreed in the claim, that the election of Mr. Gooding would be a great victory for law and order and a rebuke to the lawless elements. The platform on which Mr. Gooding ran called for the punishment of the alleged murderers of Steunenberg. Here, too, the issue was somewhat confused by the attempt on the part of Senator Dubois (Democrat) to inject an anti-Mormon issue into the campaign, without, as it seems to us, anything like sufficient reason. Governor Gooding's election against a fierce and combined opposition is certainly one of the most notable events of the elections in the West. Another interesting Western result was the rejection of joint Statehood by Arizona, which under the recent action of Congress had the privilege of deciding whether it would or would not elect to come into the Union as one State with New Mexico. The proposition was rejected by an overwhelming majority, and although the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ballot on the Statehood question fell short of that on the general ticket, there were special reasons for this which make it clear that there was no hesitation or doubt in the mind of the great majority of the people as to their desire in the Statehood matter. The Arizona Legislature is strongly Democratic. In Minnesota the personal popularity of Governor Johnson, who, though a Democrat, had the extraordinary good fortune to be elected two years ago in the face of a very large Republican Presidential majority, brought about his re-election by about sixty thousand plurality, while the remainder of the State officers and a substantial majority in the Legislature are Republican. Oklahoma cast its first vote as a State this year and gave a substantial Democratic majority both for State officers and members of Congress. In Wisconsin the Republican victory was expected—the real contest had been in the direct primaries. The Hearst organization in Illinois claims to have been influential in defeating Democratic candidates in that State.

❀

Mr. Root's Speech: The Evils of Corporate Wealth

Mr. Elihu Root's speech at Utica, to which we briefly referred last week, deserves to take rank among the masterpieces of forensic eloquence. Distinctly modern in its form and spirit, differing therefore from the models of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, we commend it to students and teachers in academies and colleges as well worthy their study in oratorical composition. We refer to it here, however, not because it is a great oration, but because it contains the clearest, simplest, and most concise statement we have seen of the corporate evils with which the Federal Government has undertaken to deal and of the measures which the Federal Government has taken to correct them. Mr. Root does not condemn corporate wealth; what he condemns is the course which many great corporations have taken: 1. To restrict production, lower the price of raw material, and raise the price of the finished product. 2. To crush out competitors by unfair competition, especially by obtaining unfair rates from the railways. 3. To combine with the railways in securing special favors, by which the big corporations have driven their weaker competitors to the wall. 4. To create fictitious values by watering stock, and the consequent injustice to the community which has grown out of the supposed necessity of paying interest upon the watered stock. 5. To keep secret their administration, making redress through the courts almost impossible. 6. Added to these evils is the unwillingness or inability of the States to deal with such corporations. Mr. Root does not mention what we regard as one of the greatest evils—the tendency of such great combinations of wealth to corrupt the political administration of the State by direct or indirect bribery.

❀

Mr. Root's Speech: Remedies

Although we have followed from month to month the action of the Federal Government in dealing with corporate evils, we confess that we are somewhat surprised when all the various actions of the Federal Government are grouped together as parts of a consistent policy, as Mr. Root groups them together in this speech. The legislative acts include the act creating the Bureau of Corporations, the act expediting the trial of trust companies, the anti-rebate act, the act for the regulation of railway rates. The judicial action includes prosecution under the direction of two successive Attorney-Generals in hundreds of cases against corporate wrong-doers. Prominent among these are the prosecution of the Northern Securities Company, which was forced to dissolve by the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States; the prosecution of the Beef Trust, which has been required by an injunction to abandon its illegal methods; the prosecution of the paper manufacturers, whose trust has been dissolved by the judgment of the Supreme Court, so that the combination has been abandoned, with the result of lowering the price of white paper thirty per cent.; the prosecution of the Retail Grocers' Association, of the Elevator

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

combination in the West, of the Salt combination west of the Rocky Mountains—all of which have been dissolved; the prosecution of the Wholesale Grocers' Association in the South, of the Lumber combination in the West, of the combination of railways entering the city of St. Louis to suppress the competition between bridges and ferries reaching that city, and of the Drug Trust which suppresses competition all over the country—prosecutions which are now being vigorously pressed in suits brought by the Federal Government for their dissolution. Indictments have been found for violation of the law or disregard of the decrees of the court against the Beef Trust, the Tobacco Trust, a Lumber combination in Oklahoma, the Fertilizing Trust, the Ice combination in the District of Columbia. The Coal Trust and the Standard Oil Trust are undergoing special investigation. In addition to active prosecutions for the enforcement of the Elkins Anti-Rebate Law "fifty-three indictments have been found against hundreds of defendants and governing many hundreds of transactions." To these anti-trust prosecutions must be added the Pure Food Act, the Meat Inspection Act, the Employers' Liability Act of the last session of Congress, and the prosecutions for the enforcement of the Contractors' Eight-Hour Labor Law and the Safety Appliance Law. The latter, "discredited in the lower courts . . . has been established upon a sure foundation by the decision of that great court" [United States Supreme Court]. It did not come within the province of Mr. Root's speech to state what further remedies he thought ought to be applied in meeting the perils and counteracting the evils threatened by monopoly in this country. We can think of no man in public life better equipped to outline a policy for the future, and The Outlook hopes that on some appropriate occasion he will render this still further service to the American people.

❀

San Francisco and the Japanese Children

It is too early as yet to pronounce on the animus of the action of the San Francisco Board of Education in segregating Japanese children and placing them in separate buildings. If this measure was taken for general convenience and to secure greater educational efficiency, it could not properly be made the subject of criticism or the occasion of international irritation. If, on the other hand, it is an expression of anti-racial feeling and the initial step in an agitation against the Japanese, it is not only to be deprecated as entirely out of harmony with the American spirit, but as a very serious menace to American prosperity. It is a misfortune that the treaty between the United States and Japan does not contain the favored nation clause. If it did, the Supreme Court of California would probably be compelled to hold that the law passed by the California Legislature providing separate schools for Japanese children was unconstitutional. Under the present treaty it is very doubtful whether the United States Government has authority to overrule the action of the San Francisco Board; that power can be secured only by the action of Congress or by the negotiation of a new treaty including the favored nation clause. If it be true that a bill may be introduced by Representatives of California in the next Congress demanding the exclusion of the Japanese from this country under the same terms that at present bar out the Chinese, the Nation will be face to face with one of the most vital questions ever presented to it. If California is short-sighted enough to discriminate against the Japanese and to sacrifice the capital of confidence which this country has laid up in its fair-minded and disinterested intercourse with Japan, and to turn friendly feeling into hatred, it will show the blindness that falls upon those who are bent on self-destruction, and we do not believe it will secure the indorsement of the Nation in so great an act of folly. We think it more probable that an agitation to shut the doors of our country in the face of the Japanese will serve to open them on more just and equal terms to the Chinese. The Outlook, therefore, will not be sorry to see the issue raised. The whole commercial future of San Francisco, and to a large extent the prosperity of the entire Pacific slope,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

depends on the Far East. At the very moment when the West and the East are coming into the closest relations, it would be both a folly and a crime to alienate the great and powerful nations which are to be, not only consumers, but competitors. The sympathy of the whole world has gone out to San Francisco in her hour of calamity, but the disaster that has overtaken that city will be a small affair compared with the disaster that will overtake it if it cuts its prosperity at the roots, as it will do if it takes a narrow-minded, bigoted, and unchristian attitude towards the peoples of the Far East.

❀

President Roosevelt's Visit to Panama

On Thursday of last week President Roosevelt, accompanied by Mrs. Roosevelt, left Washington for a trip to Panama. The President's purpose is to make a tour of inspection of the route of the Canal, and to see for himself the progress of the work and the conditions under which it is being done. The voyage to Panama is being made on the battle-ship Louisiana, which is accompanied by the cruisers Washington and Tennessee. All three of the vessels are among the newest in the navy, and the little fleet forms a fitting escort for the President of the United States and Commander-in-chief of its navy. President Roosevelt plans to spend four days on the Isthmus, and on his return a day in Porto Rico. During his stay in the Canal Zone he will be entertained at dinner by President Amador, of Panama. This is the first time in the history of the Nation that a President has formally visited a foreign country. Mr. Roosevelt has at least once before been outside the jurisdiction of the United States, when he has been on a war-ship on the high seas, beyond the three-mile limit. But an American war vessel is constructively American territory, and the cases are not strictly parallel. In thus disregarding a long-established precedent, President Roosevelt has again shown his belief that the practical accomplishment of results is more important than blind adherence to customs and traditions. His administration has set a new standard of activity, not only for the holder of the Presidential office, but also for the members of his Cabinet. For the first time Cabinet officers have taken active part in the life of the country by leaving Washington and going wherever an emergency has arisen and the President has felt the need of obtaining exact knowledge of the course of events through one of his personal advisers. Secretary Root has made a journey of months to South America; Secretary Taft has visited the Philippines, Panama, and, in company with the First Assistant Secretary of State, Cuba; Secretary Metcalf has twice gone to San Francisco, once just after the earthquake, and again when discrimination against the Japanese threatened trouble with the Japanese Government. President Roosevelt has conceived his foremost duty to be to get things done, and he has not hesitated to use the best instruments at his command, even at the expense of disregarding old precedents and setting new ones.

❀

Drastic but Necessary Discipline

Three companies of negro soldiers have been discharged from the United States army *en masse* without honor. When these companies were stationed at Fort Brown, Texas, last August, certain members of them shot citizens of the neighboring town of Brownsville. General Garlington, Inspector-General of the army, made an investigation. He was unable to discover the offenders, because, as he reported, the men "appeared to stand together to resist the detection of the guilty." He thought it just, therefore, that they should "stand together when the penalty falls." In his report to the President he recommended that orders be issued discharging, without honor, every man in the three companies serving at the date of the disorder, and forever debarring them from re-enlisting in the army or navy and from employment in any civil capacity under the Government. The President has adopted the recommendation. By this drastic action notice is served, first, upon non-commissioned officers that they are responsible for keeping informed as to the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

temper and conduct of the men under them; second, upon the private soldiers of the army that the United States will not tolerate them when they cease to be protectors of the people and become instead disturbers of the public peace and a menace to the lives of citizens; and, third, upon the colored population that the worst service they can do their race is to shield the members of the race who have become enemies of the community or the Nation. Unquestionably by this action some brave and innocent men will greatly suffer; but they are the victims of a false race loyalty. Simultaneously with the order discharging these companies a communication was sent by the President to the War Department directing that an army officer be called to account for a reported statement he had made in contempt of negro troops, and, if the statement was correctly quoted, that proceedings be taken against him. By this double action the President virtually declares that color shall not be either a justification for wrong-doing or a cause for unfriendly discrimination. The action of the President has been criticised in certain quarters as autocratic and indiscriminating. *Per contra*, it is said to be sustained by precedents in the British army. Regardless of precedent, it appears to The Outlook to be both wise and just, notwithstanding the fact that some who are innocent suffer with the guilty.

❀

The Illinois Central Contest: Mr. Fish's Retirement

On Wednesday of last week Mr. Stuyvesant Fish, for nineteen years President of the Illinois Central Railway, was deposed from that position by the Board of Directors, and Mr. J. T. Harahan, previously Vice-President, was elected in his place. Simple as this statement appears, the event was not only dramatic but of National importance. It puts the control of another of the great railway systems of the country into the hands of Mr. E. H. Harriman, and was successfully engineered by him by methods which are still a mystery to all but the directors themselves. The Illinois Central directly connects the Great Lakes with the Gulf of Mexico, traverses a rich and productive country, and under the conservative and public-spirited direction of Mr. Fish has been one of the model railways of the United States. Managed for the benefit of its patrons, its shareholders, and its employees, it has preserved the traffic, the confidence, and the loyalty of all in a way that distinguishes it from many of its rivals. During Mr. Fish's incumbency its business has grown to very large proportions and its stock, paying steady dividends, has been a favorite form of investment for its employees under a plan devised by Mr. Fish a few years ago. Its securities have never been manipulated by its managers for speculative purposes, and one month ago, at the annual stockholders' meeting, Mr. Fish was intrusted with the voting power of over 600,000 shares out of a total of 950,000 outstanding shares of the company. By some means, however, at present unexplained, Mr. Harriman has persuaded or compelled the Board of Directors, after some internal dissensions in the Board, to oust Mr. Fish. This proceeding is denounced by Mr. Fish as illegal and may be contested in the courts. The apparent motive of Mr. Harriman's action is not merely to add to his already enormous railway holdings, but to obtain for the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific railway systems, which at certain points connect with the Illinois Central, some of its valuable traffic—a traffic which will inevitably greatly increase with the completion of the Panama Canal. Mr. Harahan, the new President, began his railway career as a switchman, and served successively as locomotive engineer, train-despatcher, superintendent, and general manager on various railways. There is a very general feeling of regret among all classes served by the Illinois Central at Mr. Fish's retirement, and of resentment at the methods pursued by Mr. Harriman.

❀

The Illinois Central Contest: Mr. Harriman's Methods

Mr. E. H. Harriman, if one of the most unpopular, is quite as certainly one of the ablest railway generals living in the United States

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to-day. Originally a stock-broker, he belongs to the Wall Street school of railway operators who build their lines and systems by financial tactics and strategy, by engineering mergers, by marshaling blocks of stock in ambush, by discharging sweeping broadsides of dividends, and by making sudden forays into opponents' territory. Unlike Mr. Cassatt, of the Pennsylvania, or Mr. Hill, of the Great Northern, or Mr. Thomas, of the Lehigh Valley, or Mr. Harahan, whom he has put in charge of the Illinois Central, which he has just captured by an extraordinary maneuver of railway campaigning, Mr. Harriman has had no training as an engineer or practical operator of railways. He plans his campaigns, gets control of the stock, and then employs the best men he can find to carry his plans into practical operation. In this it must be frankly admitted he has shown the marks of real genius. But with all the wealth and power he has amassed, he apparently is unaware that he is doing more to educate public opinion in favor of government control and possibly government ownership of railways than any other single private citizen in the country. He now controls by his own official power, or through financial groups over which he exerts a dominating influence, more miles of railway and a greater army of employees than any other individual of modern times. The modern concentration of railway power is exhibited in his personality in a vivid and often dramatic way. Mr. Harriman's methods are rapidly making even conservative business men realize that one, two, five, or even ten men practically direct the railway systems of the country as if these great highways of commerce and agriculture were their own private property. He is thus intensifying and solidifying the resolve of the American people to bring the public highways of the Nation under public control, even if revolutionary measures are necessary to secure that result.

❀

Twentieth-Century Pilgrims

Greeted by a crowd which had gathered from all parts of the city, the steamship Wittekind anchored in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, on Sunday of last week. The vessel had on board four hundred and seventy-six immigrants. They were welcomed like invited guests. The Mayor of the city boarded the vessel to facilitate the landing of the passengers. Men from other Southern States were present to witness the incoming of these foreigners. Commissioner Sargent, head of the Immigration Bureau, was there personally to supervise the inspection. Mr. Neill, United States Commissioner of Labor, was also an interested spectator. The transportation of these newcomers was arranged by the Commissioner of Immigration of South Carolina, Mr. E. J. Watson. The landing of these pilgrims may mean much, not only to the South, but also to the whole Nation. Several Southern States have undertaken to divert a part of the stream of immigrants to their own territory. They have organized societies, and even governmental departments, in order to attract the population which is needed for the development of their resources. The voyage of the Wittekind marks picturesquely the first fruits of their efforts. If the people who landed in Charleston are satisfied with their venture, they will influence others to follow their example; it may be that thus Charleston and other Southern ports may become gates through which a host of immigrants may enter to make their homes in the South. This would have the effect, first, of reinforcing the industrial strength of the South; second, of confronting the negro population with competitors who will challenge them to such exertions as they have never yet been called upon to make; and, third, of helping to solve that most serious aspect of the immigration problem—the question of distribution. The Wittekind may become a historic name in American history.

❀

The Young Men's Christian Association's Annual Dinner

The annual dinner given under the auspices of the International Committee is one of the features of the organic life of the Young Men's Christian Association of the United States. To this dinner men of influence in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

various departments of American life are invited, and at the close of the dinner brief reports are furnished them by heads of the different departments. The meeting furnishes an admirable moral that missionary and ecclesiastical assemblages might do well to study, and the compact and able addresses of the secretaries are models which the secretaries of our missionary societies would also do well to study. It is, unfortunately, difficult to report moral progress except in terms of statistics, which in the Young Men's Christian Association take the form of buildings erected, money expended, secretaries employed, and numbers added. These statistics for the year 1906 are thus tabulated by the Committee in its report:

Associations in North America..... A gain of 42; gain in 1905, 11.	1,868
Total membership..... A gain of 23,817; gain in 1905, 8,480.	405,789
Employed officers (a gain of 326).....	2,339
Association buildings (a gain of 35).....	552
Real property (a gain of $3,000,583).....	$34,630,155
Buildings set aside by railroad corporations for railroad associations, 46, valued at.	898,500
Local association current expenses.....	4,701,910
State and Provincial work budget.....	259,125
International budget, home field.....	166,841
International budget, foreign field.....	151,691

The non-statistical results it is impossible to report or even suggest in a paragraph. They include a unity of all evangelical denominations in a common Christian work, in which also, in spite of the evangelical basis of the Association, some Unitarians, some Roman Catholics, and even some Jews are participating; an unofficial and therefore pre-eminently human work at naval and military institutions to provide enlisted men, not only with rooms, literature, recreation, and refreshment freed from the temptations which the saloon affords, but also personal fellowship and friendship in the person of a secretary who, because he is not an official representative of the Government, can more easily come into close relations with the men; the uniting of employer and employed in the railway associations which are self-supporting and self-governing, and which would, in our judgment, make a still better link between the different classes of railway employees if the club-rooms were more frequently visited by the railway officials in a friendly and unpatronizing fashion; a similar achievement for the employers and the employed in the mines and the factories—a work just begun, and meeting with difficulties from the traditional hostility between employer and employed, which are, however, gradually giving way to a kindlier feeling which co-operation itself tends to produce; the provision of industrial education for men who have drifted into their life-work without choosing it and without special preparation for it, but who, provided with an opportunity and inspired with an ambition, will be certain to make not only better workmen but better men; getting together boys in clubs and classes, and promoting among them what one of the secretaries well called "group morality," and so preparing them for the recognition of social duties and obligations in the organized life which lies before them; foreign missionary work conducted along broad lines—inspirational, social, undenominational, and for these reasons more profoundly Christian. Such are some of the aspects of the work of the Young Men's Christian Association as it was put before the diners on the evening of November 8—a work which commends the Association to all Christian and philanthropic men as one of the great instrumentalities of our time for the promotion of practical intelligence, social morality, human brotherhood, and Christian living.

❀

Church and State in France

On December 11, 1906, unless the Roman Catholics submit to the provisions of the law of December 10, 1905, the French Government will have authority to close all Roman Catholic cathedrals and churches throughout France. The danger is partially averted by the Government's decision last week to keep the churches open during the ensuing year. Buildings in which the law is not complied with, however, will be sequestrated and administered as State's property, and the priests, instead of being in control, will simply administer their offices on sufferance by the State. So many conflicting statements have been made concerning the new law that it is worth while to recall its chief provisions. The declaratory clause assures liberty of conscience and guarantees the free prac-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tice of religions, subject only to certain restrictions mentioned in the law. Henceforth the French Republic neither recognizes nor subsidizes any religion. All expenses connected with the practice of religion are to be omitted from the State, departmental, and communal budgets, but expenses connected with provision for chaplains and intended to insure the free practice of religions in public institutions, such as schools, colleges, hospitals, asylums, and prisons, may still be included. Government inspectors are to prepare a descriptive inventory and valuation of the real and personal property of all religious establishments, and also of State, departmental, and communal property of which those establishments have had the use, this twofold inventory to be drawn up in the presence of the legal representatives of the churches. Church property is to be assigned to "associations cultuelles," or, as we should say, trustees of churches, formed to provide for the cost, maintenance, and public worship of a religion, to have a minimum membership of seven persons in communes of less than a thousand inhabitants, fifteen persons in communes from a thousand to twenty thousand, and twenty-five persons in communes of over twenty thousand persons. This part of the law has encountered the fiercest opposition. As all the members of a particular association must be domiciled and resident in the particular district affected, many districts of less than a thousand inhabitants, being already without a church or priest, would have no clerical representation in the membership. Though the law does not by name exclude the priest or bishop, yet its conditions of domicile permit practically but one clerical representative in the great majority of associations. The other members need not even be Roman Catholics; they must be male adult citizens. Moreover, the courts may dissolve any associations not living up to the strict letter of the law. Though many Roman Catholics declare that religion is now being merely tolerated and hedged in by all kinds of restraining regulations, the French Council of State has decreed that the Government will not recognize as an "association cultuelle" any association not in harmony with the regular bishops.

Special Provisions

Within a year from the date of the law's promulgation the associations thus formed are to take charge of the real and personal property of the churches, presbyteries, consistories, and other public religious establishments. It is to be noted, however, that even if the Roman Catholics became a very small minority in a particular ecclesiastical district, they would still retain the use of their church property, under the court decree of the French Council of State. For instance, if a commune with less than twenty thousand inhabitants seceded from the Church, leaving only a score of the faithful, this minority, if recognized by the bishop, would retain the church property. That portion of the property, however, confiscated by the State in the French Revolution reverts definitely to the State, which grants the use of the churches. The protesters declare that the clause amounts to spoliation, that the property was confiscated in return for the payment of salaries by the State, and, now that the State's payment is gradually to be stopped, there is no offsetting advantage. Personal or real property devoted to a charitable foundation, or to any other purpose extraneous to the practice of religion, must be assigned by the legal representatives of the churches owning such property to public institutions having a similar purpose. Those ministers who shall have completed their sixtieth year, and shall have held ecclesiastical offices salaried by the State for at least thirty years, shall receive an annual pension for life equal to three-fourths of their salary; those who are over forty-five years old, and have held offices for twenty years, shall receive a pension equal to half their salary; these pensions not to exceed three hundred dollars a year. Ministers of religion at present salaried by the State, who shall not be within the conditions above mentioned, shall, for a period of four years, receive a grant equal to the whole of their salary for the first year, two-thirds for the second, a half for the third, and a third for the fourth. In communes of less than a thousand inhabitants the duration of each of the four periods shall be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doubled. The average salary of a country *curé* is about two hundred dollars a year—a slender pittance, indeed, for a devoted minister.

❀

The Effect of the Law

Despite all objections to the new law, the abrogation of the Concordats or agreements long existing between the Vatican and the French Government insures the Church an enjoyment, for the first time in five centuries, of the right of directly nominating the French bishops without any interference of the secular government, and also insures to such bishops the enjoyment of the right of choosing priests, no matter whether they are or are not "pleasing to the government." Despite the Pope's condemnation of the Separation Law, that law has already permitted him to consecrate fourteen French bishops without reference to the Government. By taking so large an advantage of the law, the Vatican might possibly seem in some sense to have morally bound itself to accept its inconveniences as well as its advantages. Moreover, liberty of meeting as well as liberty of nomination has been gained. The recent assemblage of prelates at the Archbishop's palace in Paris is said to have been the first assemblage in a hundred and twenty years of the heads of the French Church to confer in concert about the gravest interests of that Church. That the Roman Catholic Church will gain greatly as a religious force by its separation from the State will not be doubted by those who hold, with The Outlook, that the function of the church is religious and not political; but the separation ought to be made with the utmost tact and consideration, and at this distance the methods of the French Government appear to have been unnecessarily drastic and irritating.

❀

A Liberal Policy

It ought to be a truism that wages should advance in times of prosperity, and especially that large employing corporations, from motives both of justice and self-interest, should in wage distribution take cognizance of some other rule of action than to get the cheapest labor in the market. In many instances this is the actual practice —the Standard Oil Company, for instance, whatever its sins of rate-cutting and forced absorption of competitors, has always, we understand, treated its wage-earners with liberality and consideration. But this wise and long-sighted policy is not yet as common as it should be, and all the more do those who conspicuously follow it deserve praise. Last week the Pennsylvania Railroad announced that at the end of this month there would be an advance of ten per cent. in the wages of all permanent employees of the Company who now receive less than $200 a month. The Pennsylvania and its affiliated lines employ about 192,000 men, and all but about 7,000 will participate in the advance, while about $12,000,000 will be added to the annual expense. This is not the first time that this great corporation has voluntarily, and without the pressure of strikes or threats of strikes, increased the pay of its men, while for nearly twenty years there has been no general reduction. One result of this generous policy is seen in the excellent average ability and intelligence of the employees, and good service to the public has meant increased prosperity to the Company. The day is not far distant when employers and employees the world over will learn that the adjustment of wages is not war but business, and that to conciliate and compromise is more profitable, as well as pleasanter, than to fight. And the cultivation of an *esprit de corps* among those who are fellow-workers is a first step toward community of interest.

❀

Which? Plutocracy or Democracy?

Elsewhere we interpret the recent election in detail. Here we endeavor to indicate its larger significance.

America is not yet a democratic country; it is moving along the road to democracy. Our fathers realized that they were entering on an experiment, and they were cautious. They adopted the political methods

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country modified to suit the new conditions. They dispensed with certain feudal inheritances, but they did not straightway establish a pure democracy. They did not trust the people to choose their President, but only to elect a body of wise men to choose one for them; nor to determine their national policies, but only to elect representatives to determine those policies for them. The nominations for the more important offices were made by their selected wise men; the votes which elected them were cast by a limited electorate.

Gradually the self-imposed shackles have been cast off. The suffrage has become approximately universal; the newly arrived immigrant has been given a share in the government after a very brief apprenticeship; the policies of the Nation are being determined by the people in public discussions, and the Congress is becoming a collection of committees to frame these policies in appropriate legislation. Debates are transferred from the floor of the Congress to the open forum and the press. The nominations are made by the people in popular conventions. The President is practically elected directly by the people, and the United States Senators are being so elected in many States. Direct primaries, the referendum, the power of recall, are all under public consideration and are all meeting with increasing favor. Politically, the country is passing from a representative republic to a pure democracy.

But simultaneously with this movement another has been going on. Politically the country has been growing democratic; industrially it has been growing autocratic. The discovery of natural forces and the laws which govern them, the growing ability to use them in the service of men, the recently developed ability to co-operate in organized industry, the invention of division of labor, the vast increase of wealth—an increase more rapid than the increase of moral intelligence properly to value and rightly to use it—have combined to create great captains of industry, who have taken the place of the political commanders of the older epoch. We have abolished kings and substituted railway kings; have abolished lords and substituted coal barons. Our industrial systems are founded on the principles of feudalism, with this difference: the industrial overlord owes no protection to his men, and may discharge them when he will; they owe no loyalty to their overlord, and may leave his service when they will. But they have no share in the direction of the industry, and only incidentally and indirectly, if at all, any share in its profits over and above the necessary cost of production.

These overlords are sometimes high-minded, noble-spirited, generous men; they are sometimes mean, niggardly, unscrupulous men; but whatever their character, they are overlords. Their prosperity often depends on legislation. Sometimes unscrupulous politicians threaten them with unjust legislation against which they must protect themselves; sometimes they desire special legislation to promote their industries. Hence the "boss" and the "machine." All political parties must have leaders; when the leader becomes a servant of the plutocracy, he is a "boss." All political parties must have organization. When the organization becomes tributary to the plutocracy, it is a "machine."

Thus there have been growing up in America simultaneously, neither really conscious of the growth of the other, two powers—Democracy and Plutocracy. There is an irrepressible controversy between them. One of them will eventually destroy the other. Shall government become autocratic, or shall industry become democratic? This is the fundamental question before the American people to-day.

Observe: the people do not object to kings merely when they misbehave. They object to kings good and bad. They do not object to plutocrats merely when they misbehave. They object to plutocrats good and bad. As they objected to the concentration of political power in an oligarchy, so they object to the concentration of industrial power in a plutocracy. As they have resolved that the people shall control their political, their educational, and their ecclesiastical institutions, so they are gradually coming to the resolve that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the people shall control their industrial organizations.

In 1896 a prophet of this new spirit of democracy suddenly appeared in the West. His famous sentence, "You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold," won for him his nomination; his appeal for the debtor class won for him his support; his remedy for plutocracy, free silver, appealed by its simplicity to the imagination of his hearers; the fact that it aroused the hostility of the money power furnished to many of them a *quasi* argument in its favor. The Nation set itself to a study of the currency question, concluded that free silver did not mean freedom of industry, that the currency question was international not national, rejected both the remedy and the physician, and repeated the rejection more emphatically four years later. Then the old advisers took control of the Democratic party; nominated a man who was held to believe that there was nothing in the social order that might not be left to the operation of natural law, and no wrongs inflicted for which the common law did not provide an adequate remedy; and he was defeated by an even more decisive vote.

Meanwhile a new leader had appeared. The peculiar popularity of Theodore Roosevelt dates from the beginning of his campaign for the regulation of the Trusts in the summer of 1902. Doubtless personal elements have added to that popularity—his democratic sympathies, his engaging frankness, his hatred of shams and lies and frauds, his enthusiastic Americanism; but these alone would not have made men of all sections, parties, faiths, and social ranks follow him. The secret of his leadership is this: that he has comprehended the democratic movement of a people who did not comprehend it themselves, and has interpreted it to them. What was an undefined feeling he has formulated as a definite principle. It seemed an impossible ideal; he has pointed out some first steps toward its realization.

This fall's election, confused by local conditions and by political maneuvers, can be comprehended only as the student comprehends this issue between democracy and plutocracy, between the rule of the many and the rule of the few. The Swiss philosopher Amiel, in an eloquent passage, has foretold the peril which confronts the American Republic:

> America is on the road to revolutionize this [European] ideal by the introduction of the democratic principle of the equality of individuals in a general equality of functions. Only, when there is nothing but a multitude of equal individualities, neither young nor old, neither men nor women, neither benefited nor benefactors—all social difference will turn upon money. The whole hierarchy will rest upon the dollar, and the most brutal, the most hideous, the most inhuman of inequalities will be the fruit of the passion for equality. What a result! Plutolatry—the worship of wealth, the madness of gold—to it will be confided the task of chastising a false principle and its followers.

The American people have strongly felt, if they have not clearly perceived, this peril, and they are resolved to avert it. They will not listen to the man who assures them that there is no peril. To any man who defines the peril and proposes a remedy they will listen. Too many are willing to try any experiment that may be proposed by any quack who will propose it. But thus far the people have shown a caution which even the friends of democracy have been slow to impute to it, and have done much to justify the saying that the wisdom of the many is greater than the wisdom of any one among the many.

Apply this statement of the present social and political issue in interpreting the phenomena of the recent election.

In New York State Mr. Wadsworth, who had made in many respects an admirable legislator, is rejected because he had stood as the defender of the beef trust against the law to protect the people from dishonest foods. Mr. Hughes is elected because he had made, before the election, a record as an honest, brave, capable investigator of the criminal rich. The rest of the Republican ticket was defeated because the people distrusted the Republican party, which until a month before election had been under the control of a boss and a machine identified in the public mind with plutocratic control. With one exception, the Democratic ticket is probably elected because, despite some measure of uncertainty,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it was not identified with the plutocracy; that one exception, the head of the ticket, was defeated because he was identified with a plutocratic boss and a plutocratic machine, and because the progress of the campaign made it plain that he was himself guilty of the plutocratic practices which he condemned in others. In Massachusetts a loud talker and a small doer is defeated, though he professes most vigorously to be the friend of the common people and the enemy of the plutocrats. In New Hampshire, where a great railway with difficulty defeated the nomination of a representative of the new democracy for the Republican nomination, its railway nominee secures his election, if indeed it is secured at all, by probably as small a majority as was ever given to a successful candidate in a gubernatorial election. In New Jersey, despite popular perplexity due to local causes, the Senatorial candidate of the plutocracy, if not defeated, will barely escape defeat. The results in Pennsylvania, where a former Republican majority of 500,000 was reduced to 50,000; in Iowa, where a tariff-revision Governor was elected and a "stand-patter" candidate for Congress was defeated; in Idaho, where the law-and-order candidate for Governor was elected, and in California, where boss-nominated Judges were defeated, all point in the same general direction—condemnation by the American people of the corruptionist on the one hand and of the demagogue on the other.

The meaning of this election, then, we take to be this: The American people cannot be halted in their onward march toward democracy, nor can they be diverted from it; but they will not follow dishonest demagogues except in those localities in which honest leadership is denied them. And that leadership must be furnished, not only in politics, but also in education, religion, and industry, or disastrous results will follow.

The lesson of the election may, then, be briefly summarized thus:

To the political leaders: Doubtless there are voters who will vote the regular ticket no matter what the platform nor who stands upon it; but, increasingly, elections will depend upon intelligent and independent voters, who are determined that the party machinery and the party leaders shall serve the cause of the common people, or they will not support the ticket. Political victories depend on the nomination of fit men.

To the commercial leaders: The American people who govern in the Church, the School, and the State are resolved to govern in the industries of the Nation. The secret of the industrial unrest is this unformulated but growing determination. Their objection is not to the incidental evils of monopoly; it is to monopoly itself. You can thwart this will for a little time and in particular localities. But the longer it is thwarted the higher will rise the current and the more destructive will be the flood. You can lead it if you will; and if you lead wisely and well, your children will bless your memories.

To the labor leaders: The Nation sympathizes with the movement toward Industrial Democracy; but it has no use for class legislation. To stir up class hatred is to defeat democratic ends.

To the educational leaders: Our educational systems, nominally for all the people, have been practically too much shaped and fashioned for the few. How so to modify the present school system as to fit democracy for its industrial work in the factory, the mine, the forest, the railway, and the farm, and for its work as ruler of the Nation, so that it may rule intelligently and justly and for the general welfare, is your difficult problem. Nothing less than this will be accepted or ought to be accepted by the American people as education.

To the religious leaders: Our churches are class organizations. They serve the commercial class, and they are instruments by which the commercial class serves others. You must find a way to make them democratic organizations; equal in their service to all classes, equal as instruments for the use of all classes in their service of others. This you must do, if you desire the church to win the respect of those without, to retain the respect of those within, or to deserve the name of Christian churches. For no religion of a class is or can be entitled to be called the Christian religion.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Agnosticism of Abraham Lincoln

My dear Dr. Abbott:

You are quoted in the New York Press of October 15 as having referred in your Yale sermon to Abraham Lincoln in the following terms: "Agnostic though he was:" Are you correct in the implication? If so, I should greatly like to know, as it is a subject in which I am much interested. J. G. Holland says, in his life of Lincoln, page 61 ff., "He believed in God, and in his personal supervision of the affairs of men. . . . This unwavering faith in a divine Providence began at his mother's knee, and ran like a thread of gold through all the inner experiences of his life;" and much more to the same purpose. You are doubtless familiar with his words on leaving Springfield for Washington: "He [Washington] would never have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence upon which he at all times relied. On that same Almighty Being I place my reliance. Pray that I may receive that divine assistance without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain." The first inaugural would seem to indicate a most pronounced Christian sentiment. Not to consume too much of your time, I might refer further to Nicolay and Hay's Life, the following passages: Vol. VI., p. 539, which contains a statement of Lincoln's religious principles; also, same volume, pp. 323, 324, 327, 328, 341, 342.

R. A. A.

The life of Abraham Lincoln appears to me to furnish a very striking illustration both of the difference between theology and religion and of the way in which religious experience is often developed in the life of a true man, and is accompanied by a real though generally quite unconscious change in theological opinion. Mr. Herndon, in his Life of Lincoln, portrays the earlier religious faith of Mr. Lincoln, Nicolay and Hay his later religious faith: neither biographer is able to find that he ever formulated his own creed, neither is able to formulate one for him. Yet between the religious convictions of the period when he wrote an essay against Christianity, which, fortunately for his reputation, a wise friend threw into the fire, and the period when he wrote his second inaugural address, there is a difference which cannot be measured by the mere lapse of years.

Agnostic? What is an agnostic? Huxley invented the phrase to define his own position in contrast with that of his friends whom he called gnostics because they had each a theory of the universe and he had none. He more specifically defines the basis of his no-theory of the universe in a pathetic letter to Charles Kingsley (Life and Letters, Vol. II., pp. 233–239): "It is no use to talk to me of analogies and probabilities. I know what I mean when I say I believe in the law of the inverse squares, and I will not rest my lifelong hopes upon weaker convictions. I dare not, if I would." Compare with this Mr. Herndon's measure of Mr. Lincoln's earlier habit of thought: "As already expressed, Mr. Lincoln had no faith. In order to believe, he must see and feel, and thrust his hand into the place. He must taste, smell, or handle before he had faith or even belief." Or compare Mrs. Lincoln's expression concerning her husband's religious opinions, as quoted by Mr. Herndon: "Mr. Lincoln had no faith and no hope, in the usual acceptation of those words. He never joined a church; but still, as I believe, he was a religious man by nature. He first seemed to think about the subject when our Willie died, and then more than ever about the time he went to Gettysburg; but it was a kind of poetry in his nature; and he was never a technical Christian."

Religion is always a kind of poetry. Faith is kin to imagination; both faith and imagination look upon the unseen and refuse to base life merely upon the senses or upon mathematical formularies like the law of the inverse squares. This poetry is often quite dissociated from philosophy, or is even inconsistent with the philosophy which the individual entertains. But Mr. Lincoln's early philosophy prepared for his later religious experience. Mr. Herndon reports him as saying: "There are no accidents in my philosophy. The past is the cause of the present, and the present will be the cause of the future. All these are links in the endless chain stretching from the infinite to the infinite." With this philosophy of fatalism was a profound faith in justice, a profound reverence for it, and an uncompromising obedience to it. At first he did not put this philosophy

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and this faith together. He who does put them together, that is, he who infuses this philosophy in an overruling cause with this faith, which is a "kind of poetry," in the supremacy of righteousness, comes to a faith in a righteous God, who deserves our reverence, not because he is great, but because he is good.

When Abraham Lincoln began to feel the burden of the Nation resting upon him, and felt it too great a burden for him to carry unaided, he wanted the sympathy of all men and women in the country who with him believed in a Power directing the course of human history greater than the actors in it, and who also believed in eternal justice; and he asked their prayers. As the conflict went on and the burden grew heavier and heavier, his faith in righteousness more and more infused his belief in a superhuman power and transformed it into a belief in a righteous God; but it was, till the last, a belief in a God of justice rather than a Christ of pity, even as it phrased itself in that most religious utterance of his life, his second inaugural: "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

There is no evidence that Mr. Lincoln had become a gnostic, or that he had a comprehensive scheme of the universe, or that he had either wrought out a system of theology for himself or accepted any that had been wrought out by others; but there is abundant evidence that he had learned in the four years of tragedy a lesson of dependence and trust, that he had insensibly put together his belief in a supreme Power and his faith in righteousness, and that thus there had been born in him faith in a supreme righteous Power, whose will we may help to carry out, and on whose wisdom and strength we may rely in achieving it. It is thus that the life of Abraham Lincoln illustrates both how a reverent agnostic may be deeply religious and how the life of service and self-sacrifice leads through doubt to faith. L. A.

❀

Knowledge and Peace

While the present condition of good feeling between nations may not be a final peace, it marks a great advance, and its promise can hardly be overestimated. In the past, peace between countries has generally meant amicable arrangements along lines of mutual interest between Prime Ministers; but the good feeling which has come to-day is an adjustment of relations between peoples, due very largely to the passing away of old antagonisms and to a fuller acquaintanceship. France and England have come into accord, not only because a French President and a French Minister of Foreign Affairs on the one side, and a King who is an accomplished diplomatist on the other, have removed by negotiation causes of irritation between the two countries, but because the French and English peoples are beginning to understand each other. One of the most menacing elements in the European situation for the past few years has been the apparent animosity between Germany and England. A year ago, when the great English fleet, eighteen ships abreast, came majestically up the horizon on the Baltic, the Germans who were watching it through their glasses from the deck of a steamer showed unmistakable signs of irritation. Everything had been done for months by many of their newspapers and too many of their public men to create a feeling of animosity and distrust against England; while in England, on the other hand, sensational stories of dark design on the part of the Emperor and malevolent purposes on the part of German merchants and politicians were set in circulation, and obtained credence everywhere except among the best informed. But at this point, as in the case of England and France, a new element has entered, not only through the better understanding of the Emperor and the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

King, but through the diffusion of a better understanding between the two peoples, to which direction has been given by the Anglo-German Friendship Committee organized by Lord Avebury. The very title of this Committee, and the fact that such a Committee has been organized for such a purpose as that implied in its title, belong in a group of facts, of which the central and most important is the Hague Tribunal, which only the pessimist will belittle, the cynic decry, and the short-sighted fail to recognize.

There was too much truth in the statement of Dr. Theodore Barth, of Berlin, at a dinner given in London under the auspices of this Committee, that the press of the world is always in arms, and that the first step to be taken was to secure its disarmament. This, he declared, was a difficult matter, for the journalist is by nature a fighting man, and his influence goes as far as he is read. That the newspapers are often belligerent, that instead of making for a better understanding they often foster international prejudices and intensify international distrust, is painfully apparent. The sensational press especially, owing to its entire lack of the sense of responsibility and its purely commercial spirit, looks at all events from the standpoint of the element of sensationalism which they may contain, and exaggerates every untoward incident in the hope of making a striking impression. It is said to be the boast of the New York Journal that it brought on the war with Spain. This is, of course, a piece of idle bombast; but the hysterical shrieks of that particular exponent of yellow journalism at that time have not been forgotten. It is the irony of Providence rather than of Fate that war, which the yellow journals desire because it furnishes material for sensational headlines, costs a great deal more than it pays, and that great international conflicts have become almost as expensive, relatively, for newspapers as for nations.

Dr. Barth put his finger on the key of the whole situation when he declared that misunderstanding is the mother of suspicion and the chief reason for international quarrels. The establishment of a great tribunal at The Hague, housed in a Palace of Peace, is an object-lesson of incalculable influence. The fact that provision is made for the settlement of every possible difference of opinion or of interest is now the foremost fact that must come to mind when such differences arise, and the inevitable tendency will be towards sobriety of feeling and sanity of judgment. To go to war in the face of the Hague Tribunal will eventually be classed with private duels and the settlement of differences by personal violence out of court. Most important, however, among all the influences that are making for peace is the mutual knowledge which travel and constantly increasing means of communication are bringing to all countries, so that the darkness of suspicion and misunderstanding is being everywhere penetrated by the light of clear knowledge. In almost every case men who differ intensely and fundamentally on grave questions, and who hate one another, find, when they come together, that, while their differences may continue, respect takes the place of suspicion, and a desire to conciliate the place of passion for destruction. It is easy to depreciate this movement of good feeling; to say, as the cheap journals and cynics are constantly saying, that it is all on the surface and that the old antagonisms are still below. If these statements were true, there would be the greater necessity for courtesy, sympathy, and good feeling; but they are not true. The traces of old prejudices will long remain, but the prejudices are rapidly becoming memories. We have still a great way to go, but we are on the road, in spite of the pessimists, the cynics, and the yellow journalists; and it ought to be every man's care, especially in all public utterances, to make people hear the music of the birds of the morning that is breaking instead of the discordant cries of the birds of the night that is receding hour by hour. It is not impossible that the greatest achievement of the twentieth century will be a fuller and more complete understanding between the different peoples, followed by far greater sympathy and culminating in substantial co-operation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLEVELAND'S TRACTION STRUGGLE

BY GEORGE C. SIKES

No public question now under discussion has more immediate importance than that of the relations of public utility corporations to city governments. The traction struggle in Cleveland has peculiar phases, and includes disputed points and problems yet to be settled; but beyond doubt it is significant and of National interest. With this in view, The Outlook some time ago requested the writer of this article to visit Cleveland, to investigate conditions relating to the traction question there, as it now stands and in its past history, and to give Outlook readers a fair and impartial account. Mr. Sikes will be remembered as the author of a similar article on Chicago's traction struggle, which appeared in The Outlook for March 31, 1906, under the title "Chicago's Struggle for Freedom from Traction Rule." Mr. Sikes is the Secretary of the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago, has long been a student of municipal questions, and has written extensively on this subject. It should be here stated that there is, both in Cleveland and outside of that city, a marked difference of opinion as to the character and purpose of Mayor Johnson, and that men of undoubted public spirit who are ardent believers in municipal control of public utilities would disagree with the conclusions presented by Mr. Sikes. It is probable that in a later issue of The Outlook we may present what may be called the other side of this case.—THE EDITORS.

IT is in attempting to cope with the intrenched public utility corporation that the American city is put to its severest strain. In my article in The Outlook of March 31 last, on the Chicago traction situation, I endeavored to show that the traction struggle in Chicago was primarily a political struggle. It was more a question of government than of transportation. It is the same in Cleveland. And this notwithstanding the fact that under the present régime bribery as a possible determining factor is eliminated.

Before I went to Cleveland I had heard of the fame of President Horace E. Andrews, of the Cleveland Electric Railway Company, as a traction manager who would not tolerate the use of bribery as a means of influencing Council action. This is conceded by all to be a matter of genuine principle upon the part of Mr. Andrews, and not of mere expediency. Surely, I thought, this must prove an interesting field in which to study the economic and service features of the transportation problem, free from the complications of political immorality. I left Cleveland convinced that the fundamental question there, as in Chicago, was whether or not private interests should be allowed to dominate the agencies of government—State and judicial as well as municipal—for their own advantage and to the detriment of the general public welfare. A study of the Cleveland situation has done much to strengthen my growing belief that the profit-seeking public utility corporation is too great a menace to be endured; that the only safety of the American city lies in its complete elimination as soon as practicable, and the substitution for it of either public ownership or the public-spirited non-profit-making corporation, such as Mayor Johnson is trying to introduce into the transportation field of his city.

Direct and shameless bribery, after all, is but one instrumentality—and a crude one at that—for enabling privilege to make the agencies of government serve its ends. The public service corporation that abandons bribery but seeks for its own purposes to control the government through business, political, and social pressure, and the manifestation of an ability to block all municipal progress unless it can have its own way, is still a public enemy. It is none the less dangerous because it makes use of more insidious methods. The great question is, Shall the Government represent public or private in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

terests? Direct bribery is but one phase of that larger question.

The Cleveland traction situation is interesting, for one reason, because of the demonstration it affords of the practical ability of franchise-holding companies, when beaten in their efforts to get what they want for themselves and thrown on the defensive, to block the attempts of a city administration to carry out any constructive policy whatever that is opposed by them. It is interesting also on account of the personality and programme of Mayor Tom L. Johnson, who has brought to the service of the city a type of ability ordinarily to be found only on the side of private corporations. Mayor Johnson is fighting the battle, not for Cleveland alone, but for all American cities. If he wins, the way to success will be indicated for other municipalities. If Johnson, with his unusual qualifications for carrying on a struggle of this kind, can be worried out and finally beaten, the public utility companies everywhere will be encouraged to strive for the mastery, and to enter, where necessary, upon time-consuming conflicts which must prove distracting and detrimental to the public welfare.

The street-car history of Cleveland goes back to 1859, when the first grants were made. Most of the original franchises have been once renewed for twenty-five-year periods. The times of expiration are near at hand, but, as usual, the opposing parties differ as to the exact dates. The companies claim an average life of about eight years for outstanding grants, while the city contends that most of the important franchises will run out in about three years. Consolidation has been carried to the point where all the lines in operation are now included under one management. In popular discussion the Cleveland Electric Railway Company, into which have been merged the so-called "Big Consolidated" and "Little Consolidated," is referred to as the "Con-Con." The new three-cent-fare company, which Mayor Johnson is fostering, is dubbed the "Three-fer."

In 1896 the Legislature of Ohio passed a law authorizing cities to renew existing street railway franchises for fifty-year periods. Boss-ridden Cincinnati gave the companies in that city the desired long-time renewals. Public sentiment in Cleveland rose in revolt against the proposition. The succeeding Legislature repealed the odious fifty-year law before any other city than Cincinnati had acted under it, and restored the former statutory limitation on street railway franchise grants, which was twenty-five years. Then the Cleveland companies tried for twenty-five-year renewals, and were defeated again. The late Senator Hanna was the general in command of the traction forces in this contest, which was full of political interest and acrimonious in the extreme.

In 1901 Tom Johnson, the millionaire disciple of Henry George, who had represented a Cleveland district in Congress some years previously, appeared on the political scene as a candidate for Mayor. He was elected after a campaign in which the street-car question had been the chief issue, the principal plank in Johnson's programme being the demand for three-cent fares. This demand the old companies refused to concede. Johnson brought in an outside capitalist who offered to construct street-car lines and operate them on a three-cent fare. The Council was induced to take favorable action on the proposition. Then began the process of obstruction in the courts which effectually tied up proceedings for several years. Injunction after injunction was issued against the construction of the new lines, until the outside capitalist became discouraged and abandoned the field. As a climax, the charter of the city was attacked in proceedings instituted by the Attorney-General of the State, which resulted in a decision leaving every city in Ohio without a legal government. The Legislature was convened in special session to enact a new municipal code. The chief purpose of the measure as passed was to weaken Johnson's power in Cleveland. The practical effect was to strengthen his hold upon the people. He has been twice re-elected Mayor by growing majorities.

Finally, a few months ago, the last injunction that tied the hands of the city was dissolved, and work on the new

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

road was allowed to proceed. Johnson, meanwhile, had endeavored to reach an agreement with the Cleveland Electric Railway Company to turn over its property to a holding company to operate on a three-cent fare basis. This holding company was to be composed of public-spirited citizens who should have no share in the profits of operation. The bonds of the old company were to be taken care of, and its stockholders were to receive guaranteed dividends of five per cent. on their stock on the basis of an agreed value of $85 a share. That was about what the stock was then selling for on the market. To protect the company under this arrangement a security franchise was to be passed by the City Council, according to which, in case of default in payments on the part of the holding and operating company, acting for the public, the old company was to come into possession of a twenty-five-year franchise carrying the right to collect a five-cent fare. After deliberation, President Andrews refused to consent to this arrangement. Some of Mayor Johnson's friends protested that $85 a share was an excessive price for the stock of the old company, much of which was water. He replied that he wished to be not only fair, but liberal. He declared at the time, however, that he would never set the figure so high again; that it was the last opportunity of the old company, so far as he was concerned, to dispose of its property at that valuation. Since then the stock has sold on the market below $70 a share.

Early in 1903 the Forest City Railway Company had been brought into being as a successor of Mayor Johnson's outside capitalist who became discouraged. Under the Ohio law it is easy for a company with tracks down and in operation to get renewals or extensions, but it is exceedingly difficult for a new company to acquire a foothold. In view of this situation, Mayor Johnson, after several setbacks, planned to have the new company start with a small mileage, which could be utilized as the nucleus of a larger system. Grants were made by the Council in 1903, and the work of construction was prosecuted by spurts between injunctions. A Supreme Court decision of December 6, 1905, removed legal obstacles to construction, and since then the work has been pushed. After President Andrews rejected the suggestion of a lease to a holding company, the plan was devised of applying the holding company idea to the proposed three-cent fare lines. Municipal ownership was impossible, because the Legislature of Ohio has refused to enact the necessary enabling legislation. A corporation was organized under the name of the Municipal Traction Company. Its capital stock is only $10,000, and is held by five directors, one of whom is Fred C. Howe, author of "The City the Hope of Democracy," and a law partner of James Garfield, of Roosevelt's administration. Another director is A. B. du Pont, a practical street railway man, who has long been a friend and expert adviser of Mayor Johnson. Full publicity is required of the affairs of both the Forest City and the Municipal Traction Companies. The directors are to receive reasonable salaries for their services, but no other profits or emoluments. The company they control has leased from the Forest City Railway Company all the lines it is now constructing or may hereafter construct or acquire. The Municipal Traction Company is to be the operating company. It will pay to the stockholders of the Forest City Company six per cent. cumulative dividends on the par value of their stock, and no more. All excess earnings are to be used in making extensions, bettering the service, and acquiring the property of the Forest City Company. The lease provides that the Forest City stock may be retired at any time by paying therefor $110 a share. The Forest City Company has $750,000 of stock outstanding, which was sold at the rate of $90 for each $100 share. Of this amount, $350,000 was taken by the parties who have been back of the company from the beginning. The remaining $400,000 was offered for sale at popular subscription in July last. The issue was oversubscribed by $300,000.

The lines now under construction comprise about fourteen miles of single track. The work of building is nearing completion, and cars began operating

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

November 1. The equipment to begin with will consist of twenty-four cars. Mr. du Pont gives it as his opinion that the road, even with its small mileage, will pay from the outset. The rate of fare is to be three cents straight; five tickets will be sold for fifteen cents. With the road once in operation, it is the intention to make extensions rapidly. Very recently the Council has passed ordinances authorizing about twenty-five miles of additional track. The plan is to grant to the Forest City Company, as the lessor of the Municipal Traction Company, all streets now occupied by the old company as rapidly as the franchises expire. The property of the old company, if it agrees to sell at a reasonable price, will be taken by the new grantee. The existing franchises of the Forest City Company run for twenty-year periods. The directors of the Municipal Traction Company have asked that both the existing franchises and those hereafter to be granted be made subject to termination by the City Council at any time, on condition that the stockholders be reimbursed for their investment, with a small percentage additional. Under this arrangement the way will be open for municipal ownership whenever the city secures the necessary enabling authority from the Legislature and desires to embark upon the policy. In the meantime, supposedly, the city will get many of the good results anticipated from public ownership while retaining the principal benefits of private management. The most important consideration of all is that control of the street railways will be taken from men whose interest in franchise grants and the profits of operation inevitably leads to political activity in opposition to the general welfare. On the other hand, the chief aim of the directors of the holding company, commissioned to act for the public, will be, not private profit, but public service.

As a commentary upon the holding company plan, it is interesting to know that the fundamental idea of it has been put to successful test in Indianapolis. As a means of fighting the Standard Oil Company, the Consumers' Gas Trust Company was organized several years ago to supply the Indiana city with natural gas. This company was a trust, in the technical sense of the term. By the charter the stockholders irrevocably vested in a self-perpetuating board of trustees the right to vote the stock and elect directors to manage the company in the interest of the consumers. One of these trustees was Charles W. Fairbanks, now Vice-President of the United States. The stockholders were to receive only a fixed dividend on their investment. The company, out of profits, put into the plant for improvements several times its first cost. The stockholders were reimbursed for all of their original investment except a small percentage left unpaid for legal reasons. Gas was sold to consumers at low rates. The affairs of the company are now being wound up because of the exhaustion of the natural gas supply, and for no other reason.

A sensational incident connected with the construction of the new road was the tearing up by the police, under Mayor Johnson's instruction, of a section of track belonging to the old company. The Cleveland Electric Railway has one track in the center of Fulton Road, on which the Forest City Company was authorized to lay one track. The Council passed a resolution directing the old company to relocate its track in order to make room in the same street for the new company. The Cleveland Electric paid no attention to the Council's direction. Mayor Johnson thereupon ordered the track torn up. The court decided that he was technically in the wrong. The Council had the power to order the removal, but should have acted by ordinance instead of by resolution. The Cleveland Electric relaid its track as it was, before the Council could act again. The Council passed an ordinance ordering relocation, and it was complied with. The incident at least served the purpose of directing National attention to the serious nature of the contest going on in Cleveland.

Shortly before this episode President Andrews, of the Cleveland Electric, made a proposition for a settlement. He had presented to the Council an ordinance granting to his company a twenty-year

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

renewal of all franchises. The attractive feature of this ordinance was the provision for the sale of tickets at the rate of seven for twenty-five cents. The cash fare was to be five cents. President Andrews asked to have the measure submitted to popular vote at the election of November 6. This the Council, under Mayor Johnson's leadership, refused to do. One reason assigned for the refusal was that the city ought to have nothing to do with a company that was resorting to obstructive tactics on all occasions. This was when the dispute over the Fulton Road matter was acute. Mayor Johnson declared later that he would be glad to have a referendum, provided it would dispose of the controversy once and for all. He wanted the propositions so worded that the old company would win a clear victory and get what it wanted, or be completely eliminated and leave the field to the newcomer. Mr. Andrews would not agree to abide by any such referendum. He simply wanted the people to vote on his ordinance.

As the situation now stands, the old company appears to be fighting for time. The new company, favored by Mayor Johnson, is anxious to demonstrate its ability to operate street railways successfully on the low-fare basis. The old company can hope to win only through the overthrow of Mayor Johnson and a change of administration. It is, therefore, looking forward to the election, one year hence, when Mayor Johnson's term expires.

Now just what does this signify from the view-point of general municipal welfare?

Mayor Johnson, apart from his street railway policy, is giving Cleveland the best administration it has had in years. Lincoln Steffens has aptly characterized Johnson as "the best Mayor of the best-governed city in the United States." Yet President Andrews, of the Cleveland Electric, who is pointed out as a model for other men because he will not bribe Aldermen, is not only striving in various ways to hamper the work of this capable executive while in office, but is eager to deprive Cleveland of his services in the future, and to see elected in his place some man whose chief claim to support will be that he is not so objectionable to franchise-seeking interests. In these efforts President Andrews is backed, not only by his own stockholders, but by a large portion of the banking and business elements of the community who ought to be interested in securing and retaining for their city an administration characterized by strength and capability, such as Johnson is manifesting. These men, including President Andrews, would, if questioned minimize the value of Johnson's public service and attack his sincerity. But the outside observer must conclude that their judgment in this matter is warped—unconsciously, no doubt, in many cases—by self-interest that runs counter to the common good.

Now a word as to the ordinance which President Andrews advises the people of Cleveland to grant to his company, using for this purpose many columns of advertising space in the newspapers.

I do not hesitate to pronounce it one of the worst I have ever seen. The grant, to be sure, in terms is only for twenty years. But whatever franchise value it may possess—and it is likely to be large—is saddled upon the city of Cleveland for all time. By section 15, the city, at the expiration of twenty years, may buy the system, if it then has the power from the Legislature, the "price to be the value of the company's property as an operating street railway." Under that phrase earning power will have to be valued by the appraisers. Moreover, there is an almost impossible referendum condition attached. The purchase cannot be consummated unless submitted to a referendum and approved by two-thirds, not of those voting upon the proposition, but of those voting at the election. If the city lacks the legal power to buy, then the same conditions as to purchase of earning power must be assumed by any new company to which the city may make a grant.

The ordinance contains many other defects. To specify but one: it has no provisions for publicity, something which all disinterested students say is a fundamental feature of wise franchise policy.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE HEALTH OF SCHOOL-CHILDREN

BY G. W. WHARTON

NEW YORK CITY, as the result of searching investigations by the school-child specialist, has found that between 6,000 and 12,000 children of school age are exceptional mentally or physically to such a degree as to be unable to do normal work in the regular classes of the public schools. At the same time, the Department of Health of that city discovered in a single year, through physical examination of children in 15,736 cases of contagious eye disease, 65,294 other children who had to be excluded for diseases ranging from diphtheria to whooping-cough, and 33,551 other children who required treatment for various organic ailments, defects of vision, or physical abnormalities. This condition, which is discussed fully in the Seventh Annual Report of City Superintendent Maxwell in an elaborate paper written by the Commissioner of Health, Dr. Thomas Darlington, and a report by the School Examiner, Dr. Elias G. Brown, well merits the word "startling" used by Dr. Darlington in his discussion.

The presence in the schools of these thousands of children mentally or physically defective, or suffering from disease readily detected and susceptible directly to medical or surgical treatment, in itself affords a most serious problem, not only to the educator, but to all the agencies of the city which are charged with maintaining its standard of health. It is difficult enough to educate a child who is normal mentally and who is physically strong and well. But when the child is anæmic, has his supply of air cut off by adenoid growths, suffers from defective eyesight or poor hearing or is weakened by disease or rendered incapable of study by mental defects, education of any sort is practically impossible, and successful education entirely out of the question.

The child in the hospital is not expected to study, nor is he punished if, tormented by disease, his temper and disposition are not commendable. And yet the New York schools for many years attempted the impossible task of educating by ordinary methods thousands of children who should have been in hospitals or else under instruction specially devised to work a psychological cure or improvement in brains seriously weakened by heredity or ill-treatment or improper living conditions. These ailing children were scolded or punished—fortunately, they were not beaten—for wanton obstinacy, laziness, or unruliness which arose, not from any deliberate evil in the sufferer, but from a diseased condition which, because it was unrecognized, received no proper attention. Although any motive of cruelty was absent, the effect was the same as if some one had gone through a child's hospital and punished the little patients for their contumacy in being sick. New York, however, has taken the first important step—detection of disease—and ignorant punishment of the ailing has ceased forever. The teacher's judgment is now enlightened by the physician's searching diagnosis. Other cities, however, have not yet recognized the opposition between disease and education, and are still punishing sick children—alas! even beating them, though with kindly intentions, not realizing that a mentally defective or ill-nourished child cannot study better or be in a sweeter mood because to his other ailments are added bruised muscles and a heart palpitating with fear.

In dealing with this problem, however, New York has not rested content with mere detection of disease in children. The finding of the sick child is but the first step. If detection is to be of any value, cure must follow immediately. Every applicable agency at the command of the Department of Educa-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion and of the Department of Health is therefore being utilized; the one, to provide special forms of education and physical training suited to those who are mentally or physically so defective as to be unable to do regular class work; the other, by supplying, free of cost, the services of many physicians and trained nurses, and by the establishment of special hospitals for children's diseases, to afford the advice and, where needed, the treatment which will restore children to a condition to profit by class-room work. A description of the work of the several agencies, taken from Dr. Maxwell's report, follows:

DETECTION AND TREATMENT OF DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

The problem offered by defective children in the schools is, according to Dr. Brown, the school examiner, this:

"When exceptional children are present in the large classes of the grades, the result is as follows:

"(1) The child degenerates; (2) the class is hindered; (3) the teacher's work is made harder and less effective.

"The very important consideration, however, is the child himself. He has a right (even if mentally subnormal) to whatever in the way of education or training he is capable of receiving, just as much as the normal child.

"To look at the matter from a purely selfish standpoint (and we have a right to protect ourselves), it will certainly pay us to spend a comparatively small amount of money now in the education and training of those who may be made at least self-supporting, instead of later having to expend a much larger amount in the support of a larger pauper or criminal class.

"The solution of this problem lies in the treating of these children individually in special schools or in special classes in the regular schools. By this means many of the children can be made at least happy, and respectable and self-supporting people."

The first step is, of course, detection. This begins with the teacher. If she finds in her class a child who cannot learn under the usual instruction, and who cannot be stimulated to study or kept in order by the common methods, she reports to the physician all she knows about the pupil, on a special card. This card, in addition to describing specifically the child's lack of progress in the grades, gives the teacher's estimate of the child's disposition and personal habits and such data as she is able to collect as to the morals, physical and mental condition, and mode of life of his parents. The home treatment of the child, his food and surroundings, are also investigated. All attainable facts on these points are forwarded to the physician, who makes them part of his confidential office record.

The physician then examines the child to gain data under three heads:

"1. Physical signs (including both the so-called stigmata of degeneration and the physical condition).

"2. Motor control.

"3. Abstract mentality."

When the physician has completed his tests, he is in a position to know whether the child is unable to do the work in a regular class. Frequently his examination reveals some defect of vision or hearing, adenoid growths or other malformation, malnutrition, or diseases which are easily remedied by ordinary treatment. In these cases the parent is advised to visit a dispensary or to consult the family physician. The result is that the child is soon put on a proper diet or given the medical care which will enable him to return to his class. It may develop that the child simply has an excess of animal spirits, with which the teacher does not know how to deal. She is then given the benefit of the physician's advice in handling the pupil.

Many children, however, are found to be so defective mentally or physically as to require special psychological treatment. Such children the physician sends to a training-class, where special methods of sense training and physical drill are given to small groups of children with the idea of arousing dormant mental faculties or atrophied motor control. Other children, it is found, can profit by ordinary methods, but require more individual assistance and a slower pace than is the rule in the larger grades. Still other children "are markedly unamenable to ordinary school discipline. They may have been thought to be dull, whereas really taking advantage of the teacher; or they may be troublesome through some wrong physical or psychological condition that may be remedied by special treatment." These children are sent to disciplinary classes under

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exceptionally strong teachers, and have special treatment.

As a result of these examinations it was found that 861 out of 1,245 children thus tested were unable to do regular class work and consequently needed special training. To care for these children the number of special classes has been widely increased.

Of the conditions revealed in these examinations Dr. Brown writes:

> Malnutrition is found to be a frequent cause. Nervousness is found to be a very frequent condition. . . . After hereditary or congenital causes, improper diet is the greatest of the causes of malnutrition and nervousness. In considering nutrition, I find one of the most noticeable evils to be the very large proportion of school-children who drink tea and coffee. . . . No child who drinks tea or coffee can be at his best. In this matter parents need education.

WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

The chief ambition of the Health Department is the elimination of preventable disease. Its work in the schools is based upon the knowledge that the segregation of children in large numbers in the class-rooms makes these institutions (1) a fertile source of contagion; (2) an excellent ground for the early detection of contagious diseases in the home and the school.

The system of medical inspection began in New York, after Boston and Chicago had made certain steps in that direction, with an elaborate examination of all children in 1896. It was found that a number of children actually infected with diphtheria and scarlet fever were in the school-rooms, while a large number of others in regular attendance came from homes where there were contagious diseases. The second step was the assignment of 150 physicians to examine in the schools, each day, all children who were suspected of contagious disease, and to exclude those who were a source of danger to their fellows. In addition to excluding those exposed to the more virulent diseases, exclusions, until cure was effected, were made also for minor contagious diseases, such as those of the eye and skin and a verminous condition of the body. So many cases of contagious eye diseases were discovered that, in 1902, 16 oculists were added to the corps. They found in 35 schools, among 55,470 children, 6,670 cases of contagious ophthalmia, including 2,326 cases of severe trachoma requiring an operation. In September, 1902, the system was extended by having the regular physician, in addition to the daily examination of suspects, visit every class-room weekly and inspect all the children. Suspected instances of the common diseases were carefully examined and, if the evidence warranted, excluded and quarantined. Pediculosis and contagious eye diseases and affections of the skin were similarly handled. In all cases the parents of children excluded were given cards of instruction and advised to obtain treatment. The results were "startling;" in a single month 10,567 children were excluded. Owing to the ignorance or carelessness of the parents, many of the children were not put under treatment, and consequently were kept out of school unnecessarily for many days. School attendance, therefore, suffered seriously.

The Board of Health thereupon determined to supply cure as well as diagnosis and detection. After a month of experiment with a trained nurse loaned by the Nurses' Settlement, the Health Department appointed a corps of school nurses. These nurses were instructed to visit the schools each day and instruct the children assigned to them by the physician as to the proper procedure, or else to give them treatment. This, of course, applied only to minor ailments, and especially to parasitic diseases—cases where treatment would make the child immediately harmless to his associates. After her work in the school was through, the nurse visited the homes of these pupils and advised the parents what to do, or showed them how to give ordinary treatment for affections which may be dealt with safely at home. In cases of pediculosis (verminous condition) a card of instructions in four languages was issued to parents, and the nurse saw to it that the proper methods were inaugurated. As a result, ninety-eight per cent. of the children who would otherwise have been excluded for many days were enabled to continue at school without exposing other pupils to infection.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cases of trachoma were not treated by the nurses. These cases varied in number from one per cent. to thirty-six per cent. of attendance in various schools. As a result, the eye hospitals and dispensaries were swamped with little patients. Bellevue Hospital thereupon opened a department exclusively for treating trachoma in school-children, and in 1904 another eye hospital and dispensary was opened in East One Hundred and Eighteenth Street. These hospitals supply the pupils with cards showing that they are having antiseptic treatment which will admit them to school. The figures for 1905 show important decreases over those for 1903, not only in eye diseases but in other contagious ailments, which fact indicates apparently that the methods employed are reducing epidemics. The falling off in cases of pediculosis argues that the doctrine of personal cleanliness preached and demonstrated by the nurses and doctors is having wide acceptance in the homes. As a result of all these curative measures, the school attendance has been largely increased, and apparently there has been a decided gain in public health.

In 1904 a new feature of examination was introduced. Special attention was paid to all children absent for three days from school for unexplained reasons. As a result of this inspection, many cases of hidden contagious diseases were brought to light in homes of pupils, such as diphtheria, scarlet fever, chicken-pox, and a few instances of meningitis. In each case the Board of Health excluded the child and quarantined the family.

In 1905 the Department of Health made another wide extension of its examinations to include a searching physical examination of all school-children. The daily inspection of suspects by the physician is continued, but the nurse, instead of the physician, makes the weekly examination and refers all suspected cases to the inspector. The inspector, however, makes a searching examination of all children once each month, and now examines them not only for signs of contagious diseases but for signs of sickness or defect of any kind, thus materially reducing the danger of infection and increasing the possibility of helping those who need it.

> The eyes are tested [Dr. Darlington writes] for defects of vision, headaches, squint, blurring, etc.; the ear for deformity of the external canal, discharges, and defects in hearing. The teeth and hard palate are inspected, an examination made for adenoid growths, and the nasal condition is noted. A general record is made of the nutrition of the child, the glands, choreic symptoms, cardiac and pulmonary diseases, mentality, skin lesions, and any deformities of the spine, chest, or extremities.
>
> A report of the physical condition of each child is placed on file, and in every instance where any abnormality is discovered a notice is sent to the parents, telling them of the condition of the child, and suggesting that it receive immediate and appropriate medical treatment. If, on re-inspection, this advice is found to have been disregarded, a nurse visits the family, explains the condition, and urges a more complete examination and treatment.

Thus far the Department of Health has limited its work among children suffering from non-contagious ailments to detection and diagnosis and the furnishing of advice to parents. Whether it will, as in the case of contagious diseases, eventually institute positive plans for curing or helping these children has not yet been answered. Perhaps such measures would savor of paternalism, and yet the care of these sick children would directly aid the work of the State agencies for education and for quelling epidemics. It is certain that a well child can better withstand contagion than a sick one, and there is no question that a sick child cannot reap anything like the profit from education that is gained by one who is in good condition physically. Since the Annual Report was issued the Department of Health has entered a new field of activity. Hereafter, in connection with the Public Schools Athletic League, it will examine all children who wish to compete in athletic events. Before the League will permit a child to compete, it must have the Health Department physician's certificate that the competitor is in such condition that competition will not hurt him.

These facts as to the existence in the public schools of thousands of children who need either special psychological treatment or careful medical attention

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are as true proportionately of every city as they are of New York. New York, however, has supplied the means of detection, and is rapidly introducing methods of cure or alleviation as adjuncts of the schools. Unfortunately, this is not true of all other school systems. And yet, as far as the scientists and educators can see, the sick child, unless aided by these agencies, is in danger not only of punishment, but, worse, also of reaching maturity in such physical and mental condition that he is liable to be either incapable of self-support or to recruit even more dangerous classes of the people. New York's example, therefore, is certainly worthy of study by all other municipalities where wise economy is a rule of government.

The psychological work among the defectives is but in its beginning. Wide extension of special educational opportunity to those who are helpless to learn under ordinary instruction is, however, foreshadowed for New York in City Superintendent Maxwell's personal summary of the report of Dr. Brown. The City Superintendent writes:

> The time of experiment is now ended—the ungraded classes have fully justified their existence—and for the future there remains, as a wise economy and as an act of justice to helpless children, the wide extension of this system. . . .
>
> Should any child be deprived of free public education because it is suffering from some physical defect? The time has long since gone by when it could be said that the education of the blind, the deaf, and the crippled is an impossibility. . . . Why should the parent who would scorn to accept charity, but is too poor to pay the fees charged by private institutions, be deprived of the benefits of free public education? There is but one answer to these questions—the city should establish schools for the training of the deaf, the blind, and the crippled.

Of the work of the Department of Health Dr. Maxwell writes in part in the following words:

> The Board of Health not only sees to the exclusion of the child, but also, where needed, furnishes medical advice and supplies trained nurses who will show parents how to treat simple ailments that do not require the attention of a regular physician. The exclusion of children . . . has strongly reinforced the teachers' insistence on neatness, and has taught, where necessary, to parents the importance of soap and water. . . . The parents are growing thankful for the doctor's warning that all is not right, and are doing much more for their children in order that they may not suffer from exclusion.

MY FETISH BIBLE

BY JEANETTE PARKER

MY religious experience as a child is largely that of the most of my contemporaries in the Eastern States some fifty years ago—children of Christian homes, brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, according to Augustine's idea of God rather than Clement's. Such homes were an evolution, it has been said, of fifteen centuries of Augustine theology and Biblical interpretation. The one feature of my father's house (he was a "minister of the Gospel," a leader of an offshoot of Puritanism) more conspicuous than any, a feature of almost every Christian home, was the big Bible of the best room, the table upon which it lay, elephantine in bulk, being reserved solely for it, with the smaller Bibles of the family—gifts, as a rule—placed around it, their arrangement suggesting a mighty frigate with lesser craft anchored near. Above the shrine-like table, memorials of the departed of the household had fitting place—wreaths made of the loved one's hair, silhouette profiles, commonest of all a framed and highly colored woodcut representing mourners beside a grave under a willow, with a name written upon the tombstone. Occasionally a coffin-plate had place above the Bible table.

Bibles were worn out by constant use in those days. But never the big show Bible of the best room. That was opened carefully for special occasions; the making of an entry in the Family Record was one. Before the finding of any missing article was despaired of, if it could have been hidden in the big Bible, it was well to look it through page by page,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On "Sabbath Day," as a rule, the long afternoon was enlivened for the children by the pictures in the big Bible. First we recited:

"Holy Bible, book divine,
Precious treasure, thou art mine."

Then we were arranged for most decorous behavior before the open book—that first picture of "Adam and Eve Before the Fall" entrancing me as picture seldom has since, with its human-faced serpent coiled above the naked pair sitting under an apple-tree, while the branch upon which they sat was so near the ground that how a fall could have hurt them was a puzzle to me. That every picture of a Biblical character given in the book was a true portrait I never doubted. The harness on the horses of Elijah was just like our Dolly's; and so terrible was the giant Goliath striding down upon little David that we scratched off his face, and that of every lion in the den with Daniel as well; nor was our frightful misdemeanor discovered for long after. To-day that old Bible is one of my most cherished treasures, those mutilated pages a leading charm. It was published in Philadelphia more than a hundred years ago, by private subscription, the list of subscribers including our grandfather's name; but that interested us far less than the list given of those persons a man or a woman might not marry; as we read that "a man may not marry his grandmother" we wondered how anything so funny could have been put in the Bible.

Not to have a Bible—a big one for the best room—among the wedding presents was rare indeed in the experience of a bride of those days. The fair page for the family record began with the record of the bride's marriage. Our mothers of the Revolution hid the father's enlistment, discharge, and pension papers in the big Bible when the war was over, and that, as a rule, was the last of them.

Was it not in one of the Peter Parley books that we used to see a group of naked savages under palm-trees calling out, "Send us the Bible"? How zealously we laid by our copper pennies to do that same! "Have you read your Bible to-day?" was the question always asked by the mother before we knelt at her knee at night. One chapter every day was the rule, the fact that we heard at least two more at family prayers making no difference. What wonder that we sometimes prevaricated, knowing that confession of omission to read a chapter would entail a double portion for the morrow? "And what did you read about?" once followed the fib I had slipped into so easily. "Oh, sounding brass and tinkling symbol," was my ready reply. "I don't understand what I am reading about at all," my elder sister once broke out pettishly, actually tossing her book aside. "Of course you don't," came from the prig of the family. "Remember, the wicked shall not understand."

"Now, children, if you did not own a Bible," asked the leader of the Sabbath-school one day, "and you might choose between a Bible and a pound of candy, which would you take?" "Bible," we all cried, of course; all but Jack Sanders, who dared to shout, "Try 'em with a squirt-gun and see."

In those days the schools, public and private, were always opened with Bible reading and prayer. Usually the pupils knelt during prayer. Often the reading was by the whole school, each pupil rendering a verse—sometimes with amusing blunders. "Saw a broom afar off with leather ears in Boston," short-sighted Milly Smith gave for "Abraham afar off with Lazarus in his bosom;" and she wept at the laughter that followed. The school prizes were often Bibles. Recitation in concert of the books of the Bible was an established feature—the pupils in line—"toes to the mark, arms straight down—*begin!*" the line swaying to the sing-song—"Jenny-*sis;* Hexy-*dus;* La-vitty-*kus;* Num-*berz;* Dewty-ron-er-me;" and this is a fair specimen of the pronunciation acquired and not easily overcome in after life. But children in those days did learn what the children of to-day are in lamentable ignorance of—how to find any book of the Bible, and to classify the books properly.

Competitive recitations from the Bible were another feature of the school system; the pupils reeled off chapter after

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chapter like automatons, until the endurance of the audience sometimes called a halt. Bible Societies sowed the land with Bibles. The popular thoroughfares of travel were kept supplied, although that "professors" should ever journey without a Bible was not supposable. Whatever the guest-rooms of any hotel might lack, it would not be a Bible. "They do come in handy when winders won't stay up," said an old tavern-keeper.

In the time of the Civil War every soldier's knapsack, when he marched to the front, held a Bible. They were tiny volumes, the type poorly adapted for weary eyes beside camp-fires. A good many of them were picked up along the lines of hurried marches; but that didn't prevent the good women at home from sending on more. Of William Kidd we remember—

"I'd a Bible in my hand when I sailed, when I sailed,
. . . I'd a Bible in my hand, by my father's great command,
And I sunk it in the sand when I sailed."

Another usage, now happily obsolete and almost forgotten, was that of placing the open Bible of the dead under the folded hands, a verse marked indicating a last message from the departed; a keen sense of humor occasionally discovered an unfortunate selection, as when a young widow chose that the burial text of her "third" should be, "The Lord will provide." Again, at the request of the departed—a notorious busybody who had sadly disrupted her household of faith—the text marked for reading by those who took a last look at her remains was, "She hath done what she could." "Yes," said an embittered neighbor, "and I guess it's enough to let her rest from doin' one while."

Verily, Christian children to-day have another Bible than the one that was the fetish of my childhood. The big show Bible is now rarely seen in any home. The leaflet chapters of the Sunday-school may be thrown aside when the lessons are learned—lessons that indicate more and more the advance of Biblical study and teaching in all of our churches; but genuine understanding of the Bible has not decreased. The spirit of the Christ and of his gospel, the historical record of his revelation, is gradually but surely taking the place of the letter of myth and tradition; and in harmony with this progressive movement are the trained teachers for Sunday-schools, who at no distant day, let us pray, will have made the average volunteer Sunday-school Biblical instructor a mistake of the past.

But to return to my personal experience. Before I had reached middle life my Bible was to me like a harvested field—a desert of stubble. The grain had been gathered and stored. Only bread made from that grain was fit for food, I had been taught, and still believed. That alone was the Bread of Life. Of the many kinds of Bread of Life there was but one true Bread that came down from heaven, and that, unquestionably, was solely in the keeping of the Church of which I was a member. It had become dry and stale for me; it did not satisfy my hunger; spiritual paralysis was creeping over my soul. My Bible did not help me; my closet reading had become a mere form; why read over and over again what I already knew by heart? Nothing was more burdensome than that daily reading of a chapter. And so I drifted away from the old moorings, my Bible an unopened book. It was the transition season described by Lecky, when the temptation is met to stifle reason, when it is so much easier to assume than to prove, so much less painful to believe than to doubt. "Hence the oscillation and timidity characterizing the research of many, the indifference to truth, the worship of expediency."

If I cut loose from the Bible, what then? Kant's three questions were to be answered: "What can I know? What ought I to do? What may I hope?" I could understand Renan's saying that his life was ever controlled by a faith that he possessed no longer.

And now I see clearly that it was not so much *what* I read in my seeking for a light in the dense darkness as the spirit in which I read. "Help Thou mine unbelief." How great the multitude of those who through tribulation had entered into the kingdom of God, and yet how

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

different their paths, how contradictory their admonitory persuasions, how bewildering the host of rallying banners! Spinoza, Swedenborg, Newman, Renan—they all helped—but most of all Frederick Denison Maurice, Phillips Brooks, the Channings, and Edmund H. Sears, whose "Fourth Gospel: the Heart of Christ," simplified and focalized my questionings and gave me better starting-point. Happy was the young monk Luther, I often thought in those days, when he read the Bible for the first time in the monastery at Erfurt—opened it with a matured mind unhampered by interpretations of its every line, by fixed conceptions of its meaning. Some of us whose years are many may never recover wholly from the hurt done our spiritual life by the Biblical teaching of our childhood; but sure healing is in the spiritual interpretation of the record, the key to which is found for the seeking. "Take away the hypothesis of infallibility," says John Fiske, "and the errors and crudities of the Bible are of no consequence. The spiritual import becomes its most prominent aspect. Forced from the exigencies of a crude philosophy and inane criticism, the Bible becomes once more the book of mankind."

In other words, great is the difference, on a stormy, rock-bound coast, between a beacon light and a totem pole, no matter what the inscriptions upon the latter may be.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY[1]

THE TRADE UNION AND DEMOCRACY

BY JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS

SOME months ago the editor of The Outlook wrote a stirring passage, the spirit of which was an appeal not merely to believe in democracy but to apply it to the whole of life. In its general statement this sounds innocent and commonplace enough. Yet it asks of us a good deal of imaginative daring to prefigure what this would mean in terms of a changed social order. We have the spirit of equality in religion; we have a great deal of this same spirit before the law. We have made ourselves believe that we possess a quite absolute political freedom, but the pitiless truth-telling in the last few years about the relations existing between politics and privileged business has taught us to ask and to answer some humiliating questions. How much real freedom politically was there, for instance, in Pennsylvania from the close of the Civil War to 1905? What does the term "politically free" mean as applied to the régime under Tammany or Platt? What did it mean in Missouri till Folk appeared, or in Ohio till such as Cox were cast out? These frontier victories cheer us because they show how we may escape from servitude. They also show us that in this coming struggle for political liberty only a few opening shots have been fired.

In the passage noted from Dr. Abbott I understand him to raise the much more formidable issue of applying the spirit of democracy not only to religion, law, and politics, but to our economic and industrial life. Nowhere does the essence of oligarchy and privilege more flauntingly display itself than in this dominating part of our life. That business should be democratically administered would be written down as an absurdity by nine-tenths of our industrial leaders. They would hold Mallock's view that your democratic mass is at best a dull horse that has to be ridden under curb and spur. He is otherwise as dangerous to himself as to others.

Yet for three generations there have been no men of higher or saner minds than those who held that the democratic spirit will be checked and defeated until it informs and pervades the totality of our life—industry included.

The most democratic of all revolutions, that of 1848, throughout Europe, gave such impulse and expression to this

[1] This is the sixth paper in the series entitled "Industrial Democracy."—THE EDITORS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thought that never for an instant since has it ceased to grow. From these roots have sprung countless experiments in the "democratizing of industry." The achievements of English co-operation are a part of this movement. The far harder but more democratic problem of the "self-governing workshop" carries the hope still further and higher. "We will prove in the market that industry as well as politics can be managed by all," says Ludlow. This, too, is the heart of the splendid business record of the five hundred Belgian co-operatives. The boldest measures in New Zealand have the same character.

But what has all this to do with our American trade unions? What theory or practices have they shown that lend themselves to this "unifying of our social life"? Beginning with the printers, it would be an easy task to show that the conscious expression of this thought has again and again appeared for nearly three generations. That with increasing force it has worked, for the most part, unconsciously, does not lessen its significance.

Why, in certain industries, has labor for three generations made its enormous sacrifices in time and money? Do large bodies of men do this, through costly defeats and partial victories, decade after decade without a *reason?* It is never primarily the employer that labor is fighting in this long warfare. It is something behind the employer, which may worry the master as sorely as the man. What frightens labor into agitation the world over is the market competition which puts his income in peril.

From the beginning labor organization has struggled to control those forms of competition that were believed to endanger its wage scale. Strictly within his legal rights, the employer uses the devices which competition offers to check labor's rising claims. Overtime, the pace-setter, fines, the truck store, apprentices, and that arch disturber, the new machine, one and all represent ways through which the employer has exercised his rights to get the advantages of competition on his side and keep them there. Point by point the trade union has fought the employer on every one of these issues. For a full century this conflict has gone on by an aggressive series of "interferences" with the employer's business. When printers were worked overtime without extra pay, the attempt of the union to remedy this evil was thought to be an intolerable interference. So, too, was every separate attack on what are now conceded to be gross abuses against labor. It is strictly true that the history of labor organization is a history of almost continuous "interference" with the employer's control of his business; but so, too, is the history of all our factory legislation and of much of our social legislation. This does not mean that interference has not been abused, or that the employer was wrong in trying to keep the competitive forces on his side. His own resistance was as inevitable and as necessary as that of the trade union. Upon the whole, he is no more to be blamed for resisting than the union for attacking. The same compelling force was behind them both. Each party was playing the competitive game according to rules that were popularly and honestly thought to be justified by the people at large.

The change that has come is marked by doubts as to the finality and character of this same competitive game. The date of the change cannot be set down, but in the last quarter of the nineteenth century an army of our strongest business men had come to say that if competition was the life of trade, it was also the death of trade. It was at first strange to hear these hard-headed men of affairs using the phrases against competition which Socialists had employed for nearly a century. We had, to be sure, applied the strongest restrictions to competition through our tariff system, but not until the rapid organization of great business that followed the Civil War had produced specific and intolerable evils do we hear our business leaders join in the cry against a cut-throat competition in scores of industries. So far as the labor question is concerned, the final step in this great change is the combination of employers over against the combination of labor. Employers have done this for the same reasons that they combined in coal, in steel, in sugar,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and in transportation. The president of a coal company told me, "For a dozen years we employers seemed to be doing nothing but cut each other's throats. We would get together and make all kinds of promises, which were kept until the trade pressure was too strong on some of the weaker members. Then the break would come. This went on year after year, until we got experience enough to see that free competition no longer meant anything except the destruction of the trade."

When these gentlemen got control of the railroads, their mastery was complete. They got uniformity in distributive methods and prices. Except physical violence, they practiced every coercive measure against their own recalcitrants that can be charged against the trade unions. It is the very nature of these capitalistic organizations to curb the liberty of individuals, to deprive them outright of the freedom to do what they like in the management of their affairs. Neither can we have these organizations without a great deal of "leveling down," precisely again as charged against the trade unions.

The special forms of employers' organizations that have sprung into existence to cope with the unions were driven to this step, not alone by union abuses, but by the crippling competition in the trade—employer against employer. It was because labor in a strike could take advantage of this rivalry among employers that it gave way to organization. What the employers had set down as trade union vices have been copied with extraordinary fidelity: a special agent or walking delegate, sympathetic lockout, restriction of output, severe limitations upon individual freedom, the blacklist in its subtlest and most effective form, and the boycott. Amplest documentary evidence now exists in proof of these practices. I do not set these down to the special discredit of employers. As with the unions, they show us the logic of an uncontrolled industrial struggle. They also show us what it is that we are really trying to do with the thing called competition. We are trying to direct it and control it in the interests of all of us instead of in the interest of a few of us. We are trying to raise and enlarge the area on which these immense forces of economic rivalry act. These forces, by our common consent, have been used so narrowly and so selfishly as to become a danger that we at last recognize. Unclean milk, adulterated foods and medicines, are no more deadly than they were a generation ago; but we have become conscious of the dangers. We have learned the social perils of giving a free competition field to all forms of private profit-hunting. Pure food bills, the demand for a label on lying quack medicines, added powers to the Inter-State Commerce Commission, the revolt against rebates and private passes, the public rising against the despoilers in insurance, form each an illustration of the new purpose to destroy once for all a nest of private privileges in which our most flagrant inequalities were hatched. At the heart of all these evils has been the assertion of arbitrary personal power, which in the business world is strictly analogous to those aristocracies on which divine and extra-constitutional political rights have been based. The elder Hyde was a good type of this aristocrat in business. When he said in 1874, "I made this company and I will have no interference," we have the aristocrat of the market confident and undisturbed. This was the exact temper of his fellows throughout our land. It required almost a generation to convince the public that this temper is as noxious for business as it is for politics; that the measure of our progress will be in eliminating it and substituting an accountability to the public which is the essence of democracy.

It is at this point that the real service of labor organization becomes clear. Struggling half blindly for narrower ends, it has been at the front in this movement toward the democratizing of business. Since the early eighties, after the growing federation gave it adequate strength, the trade union begins its demand for what is in spirit a partnership in the business. From the start the union challenges every form of purely arbitrary right on the part of the employer. From the start it asks to have its wishes and its opinions taken into account; with growing insistence it demands "recogni-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion" in the business councils. The unions have so far won this fight that the "joint agreement" is an established fact in a dozen great industries. This working agreement detween employer and employed now takes for granted what employers hotly opposed for half a century. It admits labor's right to raise and to discuss practically every issue between the two parties.

I have heard an Illinois coal operator bitterly complain of this agreement. He said, "It gives us one great advantage. It does away with the old secret cut-throat competition in paying wages. We now know what our rivals pay, and that makes conditions fairer; but what I hate about it is that our former power to do business just as we like is gone. We actually take our men into a kind of partnership, and have to consult them on every blessed thing that comes up."

What a meaning in those closing words! "We actually take our men into a kind of partnership." "We," employers and employed, "have to consult on every blessed thing that comes up."

If in any far future democracy becomes a fact—a democracy with all the man-made inequalities removed, all the present mockeries gone out of it—the long struggle of the trade union will be written down among the heroisms of history. Its occasional savagery, its hectoring abuses, will fade into a perspective wherein they will appear as incidental, even perhaps as necessary, as strange abuses have been in every wholesome revolution that has marked the progress of the race. The trade agreement will then appear clearly as the training ground for larger and completer partnership, of co-operation or fraternalism in the creation and distribution of commodities.

We now see that this binding agreement between employer and employed is the aim of trade-unionism. We see as clearly that the goal is never reached except through a definite extension of the democratic principle. The joint agreement assumes that business has come to be so socialized that all those who carry it on should have their say in the councils of administration. Anything like a complete democratizing of industry is of course very far in the future, but the organized struggle to that end has begun. The turbulent energies that enter into it *make* the labor question.

The restlessness of labor, its almost pitiless importunity and aggression, its victory to-day at once turned into a reason for further claims to-morrow, are a kind of insanity until they are seen to be the varying signs of this world movement toward the extirpation of arbitrary and privileged power in industry. It is a mischievous delusion to suppose that this industrial pressure will for a moment cease. At a dozen points labor has won its fight before a sustaining public opinion. In a given industry we may now mark its progress by specific issues. Is the union justified in establishing a minimum wage? This was met by a generation of abuse, but as competition drove employers to apply the same principle to *prices*, the absurdity of the unions began to disappear. It was seen in both camps that the necessities of the weaker required this minimum. If it puts some check upon the pace of the strong, there is compensation to the group as a whole. "Each for all and all for each"—the most democratic of shibboleths—gets an added content of meaning. Where the trade agreement exists, the opposition to this minimum could not stand against the discussion of one afternoon session.

But better than all to illustrate the nature of this trade union pressure is the claim for an eight-hour day. The immediate competitive exigencies in a world market present obstinate practical difficulties. We get to know to a certainty that these difficulties must sooner or later yield. The labor pressure at this point will strengthen because the leisure, the health, the freedom which shorter hours imply represent values upon which the workers more and more set heart.

Thus, whether the struggle is over the wage scale, the number of apprentices, piece-work, fewer hours, closed shops, or "recognition," it is an attack on forms of personal power under the wage system. Slowly before our eyes that system is undergoing changes in the *direction* of co-operation or democratic control. If for no other reason than this, that labor more and more believes it is not getting

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its share, the pressure will continue. The sheer mass of doubt and suspicion on the part of labor has grown into a fact so troublesome that it must be removed by substituting democratic methods. These may for a time work ill and prove costly, but they must be tried if only to remove the deepening incredulity about the fairness of the present wage system.

This incredulity is now the chief psychic cause of the labor troubles. Whether the suspicion is justified or not, its removal will come alone through obvious experimental proofs. Inevitably the experiments must be democratic, in the sense of a wider distribution of power and responsibility among the whole of any working group.

However she may lack in brilliant material achievement as compared to the United States, New Zealand offers two illustrations of democratic method. What distinguishes New Zealand as a State is the way in which governmental powers have been used, not to stop competition in the socialistic sense, but to force a higher and fairer level, on which it acts for the many rather than for the few. Every startling step has been of this nature. New Zealand is democratizing competition. If the public is there threatened with monopoly prices in coal or in insurance, the State acts competitively for the whole people. Our great interest in this method is that it may have immeasurable development without landing us in Socialism. It has the soul of democracy in it while preserving great areas on which those forms of private property may be maintained which Socialism usually attacks. Even more significant is the other illustration which New Zealand offers.

It is the allotment of work to labor groups under the co-operation method. It unifies at once the political and the industrial practice. If the digging and laying up of a cellar, a section of roadway, or the foundations of a bridge are assigned to twelve laborers for the sum of fifty pounds, they elect their own manager, agreeing upon the distribution of the work. A standard of efficiency is set, which the inspector enforces. The lump sum of fifty pounds is assumed by the authorities to give first a "fair wage," but beyond that a margin is given which extra zeal and fidelity may very materially increase. Under private contractors working for profit, this is of course a very old story. It is not an old story for the State or town to do it, with the express purpose of avoiding certain evils of competition, like insecurity and lack of work.

If the confidence of labor is once gained; if it comes to be believed that the social authorities will once for all make an end of every form of exploitation and see to it that labor gets squarely what it earns, some most inspiring results follow. The enmities and suspicions inherent in the old wage system are abated. Every set of workers can see the stupidity and unfairness of "restricting output;" they can see the instant advantage of new machinery—that it creates more product which comes to them. It makes an atmosphere in which the dead beat and the slovenly worker get automatically the only disapproval they fear—the quick contempt of their own set.

Belgian co-operatives, New Zealand group-work with extra earnings going to the group and not to a contractor, the tentative partnership of the joint agreement, these are but beginnings, but they are very brave ones. They are here to stay and to increase. All are the product of trade union agitation. The costly, driving pressure of labor has made them necessary, as thousands of our inventions have sprung from the same origin.

In the United States, trade union pressure toward co-operation has hitherto been confined almost wholly to the economic field. With sustained desperation, the ablest of our unions have struggled to keep out of politics precisely as they have in other countries, until convinced that their opponents in that field were too strong for them. When those proofs have come, the unions have turned to party politics. This opens another stage in the democratizing of industry.

We then have the economic pressure still continuing, but greatly reinforced by organized political pressure, as in Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

now at last in England, with her fifty-four labor members in Parliament.

Partly from this internationial contagion, but more from economic check-mating at home, some of our own labor organizations this year take a momentous step, the character of which I shall explain in another article in this series.

LABOR LAWS AND LABOR PROBLEMS[1]

IT is hardly necessary to say that in order to understand the rôle played by labor in the economic and social life of our country to-day, full knowledge must be had of trade union policy and practice, for the reason that the activities, fortunes, and problems of labor depend on trade-unionism in a striking degree. This has of late years become increasingly true, with the growth and extension of trade-unionism and the development within trade-unionism of the militant characteristics that have provoked such widespread uneasiness and anxiety. It is therefore astonishing that no one has hitherto attempted any comprehensive study of the history, structure, functions, and operation of trade-unionism in the United States—in other words, doing for American trade-unionism what Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb have so brilliantly done for British trade-unionism. Much, it is true, has been written on the subject, and, generally speaking, it is far more clearly apprehended than was the case only a few years ago. But there is still a great deal of loose thinking and careless talking due to inadequate appreciation alike of the view-point of trade-unionism and of its place in the contemporary economic organism. On the one hand we have extravagant approval, on the other equally unreasoning denunciation. For this reason it is gratifying to learn that there is now under way a systematic and scientific survey of trade-unionism in the United States on its operative as well as its historical and institutional sides. This survey, conducted as it is by trained economists, zealous in the accumulation of facts and skilled in their analysis and interpretation, promises to meet admirably the need for a thorough and lucid exposition.

Originating four years ago with the Economic Seminary of Johns Hopkins University, the first-fruits of the enterprise are now manifest in a volume of "Studies in American Trade-Unionism," a co-operative production containing a dozen essays on various phases of trade-unionism. The character of these papers and the idea underlying them may be rapidly indicated by a quotation. "In addition to co-operative activity," explains Professor Hollander, "each member of the Seminary undertook the detailed investigation and study of some one carefully selected aspect of the trade union question. The more important of these assigned topics were: the organization of labor in a representative industry, the apprentice system, labor federations, the finances of trade unions, the minimum wage, and the beneficiary features of trade unions. . . . In the conduct of his specific inquiry, each investigator examined in turn the experience of a considerable number of unions in relation to that particular aspect of trade-unionism with which he was concerned. At first the simpler and more accessible unions were studied, but in the progress of his work each investigator chose for minute study a particular trade union which seemed best to illustrate his special field of inquiry. . . . The collection of essays constituting the present volume are the result of these studies. It should be distinctly understood that they mark a stage, and not a goal, in the inquiry. It is expected that each investigator will examine in turn the experience of all important American

[1] *Studies in American Trade-Unionism.* Edited by Jacob H. Hollander, Ph.D., and George E. Barnett, Ph.D. Henry Holt & Co., New York.
Labor Legislation, Labor Movements, and Labor Leaders. By George Howell, F.S.S., Ex-M.P. Two Volumes. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.50, net, per set.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unions in their relation to the subject of his particular study, and such further inquiries are now actually in progress." Thus the present volume is essentially in the nature of a preliminary inquest. But the scope of its contents is so broad, and its writers have explored their respective topics with such assiduity, that it may unquestioningly be accepted as suggesting a graphic and accurate picture of the constitution and activities of typical American labor organizations; and, if not always affording sufficient grounds for far-reaching generalizations, it certainly clears the way for that correct understanding which it is so desirable to obtain.

The first three papers, contributed by George E. Barnett, T. W. Glocker, and A. M. Sakolski, are concerned with structural aspects of trade-unionism as seen in the governmental and financial organization of the typographical, the cigarmakers', and the iron-molders' unions. Several aspects of the primary trade union function—collective bargaining—are next considered by W. H. Buckler, Mr. Barnett, and F. W. Hilbert, Mr. Buckler's paper on "The Minimum Wage in the Machinists' Union" being exceptionally helpful in the way of assisting the uninformed reader to a correct perception of many union practices—in regard, for example, to wage-fixing, to hours of labor, to reduction of output, and to apprentices. The apprentice question is studied in detail in the ninth paper, an article by James M. Motley on "Apprenticeship in the Building Trades," which presents another excellent study and one somewhat more critical than the majority, the aim being, as the quotation already made suggests, to furnish data rather than comment. In the next, the tenth essay, one of the most important problems of modern trade-unionism is approached—the problem of the extent to which the unions may be said to interfere in the business of the employers. For a type, the writer, Solomon Blum, selects the building trades organization, and, without in any way considering the ethical or legal phases of the question, takes up seriatim the methods pursued by the union to "make work" for its members. In his pages emphasis is laid on a truth too often forgotten in the discussion of this thorny theme, viz., that only so far as we regard trade union rules as the product of a class organization can we hope to understand them or appreciate their significance. The closing papers, by J. B. Kennedy and William Kirk, treat of the insurance features of unionism and the evolution of the federation idea, and are characterized—as indeed are all the essays—by accuracy, fairness, and fullness. If the projected studies are carried through with the same industry and care, and if the completed work includes, as it should, a philosophic summary giving form to the material which is now, so to speak, in the raw, and bringing the vital features into bold relief, it will be an enduring monument to the university that brought it into being, and a notable acquisition to economic literature.

Another work serving to throw light on the nature, aims, and methods of trade-unionism is George Howell's "Labor Legislation, Labor Movements, and Labor Leaders," a new edition of which has recently been brought out and imported into this country. Unlike the writers of "Studies in American Trade-Unionism," who approach the subject from the standpoint of outside, independent investigators, Mr. Howell brings to his task the intimate knowledge acquired by more than half a century of strenuous effort in behalf of the English workingman. He also brings, but to a surprisingly small extent, some of the prejudices born of the bitter conflicts in which he took part as an early and stalwart unionist. His book is at once a chronicle of the legislation by which the working class of England has gradually been relieved of the disabilities from which it suffered at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a narrative of social betterment, and a history of trade-unionism in England. It is marred by fragmentariness, by repetitions, and by an unpolished style, but its merits are so conspicuous that it deserves the thoughtful consideration of every student of economic and social questions. Especially would we commend it to those who have the shaping of trade union policy in the United States. If Mr. Howell still burns

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with indignation when he thinks of the burdens formerly imposed on his fellow-laborers, he is no less out of patience with what he describes as the "new unionism"—the unionism of aggression, violence, outrage. "It is a policy," he declares warmly, "fraught with evil. It revives all the old prejudices against trade unions. It has nerved employers to fresh resistance. It has led the courts of law to be more severe in condemnation and punishments. And what is gained? No labor dispute was ever won by violence; many have been lost through resorting to it. The 'old gang,' to their credit, set their faces against it continuously." And, writing again as one of the few survivors of the "old gang" that secured the repeal of many laws adverse to labor and the enactment of much favorable legislation, he warns the militant unionists of to-day: "If the utterances of some were taken as gospel truth, employers would appear to be all devils, and the employed all angels. That is not my experience. . . . A juster appreciation of relative positions, of mutual duties and responsibilities, will lessen the friction that now obtains. The man that under-works is as bad as the man who under-pays. The surest ground to stand upon is honesty, integrity." Sane words these, that cannot be pondered too thoughtfully by the advocates of violence and lawlessness and the appellants to class hatred; while, for those opposed to the claims of labor, and who fancy that repression will insure silence, there is much that is pregnant with meaning in the long record of wrong, suffering, agitation, prosecution, persecution, and conflict unfolded by Mr. Howell. Page after page is devoted to strikes, to lockouts, to boycotts, to summary imprisonments, to futile efforts to secure just laws or even the just interpretation of unjust laws. But beneath all runs an undercurrent of progress, of the demand for reform thriving on injustice, of a healthier public opinion growing out of evils brought home to the public conscience by the acts of the servants of the public. So, if Mr. Howell's story opens in gloom, it ends with ample justification for its vigorous and unquenchable optimism.

Comment on Current Books

The American Abroad It is quite impossible to read this little satire by Anne Warner without laughter, and yet we must acknowledge it to be so true and so humiliating in fact that it might move us almost to tears. Uncle John, "doing" the Continent on schedule time, may be met every day, and the only satisfaction one can get out of him in real life is that we do not belong to his much-tried party. Uncle John's niece, who is "so grateful" to him for giving her the trip, records the rapid succession of events in deliciously naïve and breathless letters to her mother. Uncle John has a sharp eye for possible suitors, and Yvonne is obliged to resort to many devious maneuvers to keep her lover and her hot-tempered relative from meeting. A group of Americans, "human various," surround the two central characters as they whirl from one place to another, visiting every possible spot accessible to tourists, watch in one hand and guide-book in the other. The illustrations by May Nelson Preston are admirably adapted to the story. (Seeing France with Uncle John. By Anne Warner. The Century Company, New York. $1.50.)

Beyond the Rocks The author of "The Visits of Elizabeth" continues to be sprightly in manner, but her latest story moves in conventional grooves, its characters are mere puppets, its plot is thin, and its emotionalism feeble. (Beyond the Rocks. By Elinor Glyn. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.)

Concepts of Philosophy Physics and metaphysics are commonly thought of as having nothing in common. The task of philosophy in unifying these apparently separate fields of thought and knowledge is to find ground common to both, on which their synthesis may be effected. Now the fundamental concept of physical science is causation—agency of some sort or other. But agency of some sort is also the fundamental concept of metaphysics in its inquiry for the prime Mover. It is as to the *kind*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of agency that physics and metaphysics differ. Physics, restricted to the realm of the senses, is concerned only with mechanical agency, the result of which is mere efficiency without foresight and purpose. Physics is so far imperfect science until these higher factors are supplied, as they are by metaphysics, with its doctrine of mind as the prime Mover. The philosopher may concede to the mere naturalist that all agency is mechanical—as fixed in the succession of consequents to antecedents as wheel geared to wheel—while insisting that "mechanical" is not the whole of it—that it is also volitional and purposive, the ultimate agency being, as the Stoic philosophy held,

> "A bright intelligence, which darts
> Its influence through the several parts,
> And animates the whole."

Had not the title "Synthetic Philosophy" been pre-empted by Herbert Spencer, Dr. Ormond might well have chosen it as descriptive of this masterly treatise, in which he develops the psycho-centric view of the world in opposition to the hylo-centric view of materialism. The core of his work, its largest section, exhibits the synthetic construction proceeding from physics to sociality, and from sociality to religion in its recognition of the "all-including Self," whom we name God. The opposing tendencies of religious thought, inevitable as they are—on one hand to personify God, on the other hand a feeling of his transcendence—are ever clarifying crude conceptions of him, but never reaching a final definition of the divine nature. Clear and straight thinking characterizes Dr. Ormond's work throughout. In its synthetic philosophy not only science and metaphysics, but also science and religion, find their unity. (Concepts of Philosophy. By Alexander Thomas Ormond. In Three Parts. Part I. The Macmillan Company, New York. $4, net.)

The Cruise of the Violetta Mr. Colton has written some capital short stories, and at his best is a quaint humorist. In this book he is not at his best. (The Cruise of the Violetta. By Arthur Colton. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Esperanto In less than twenty years this device for a universal language has advanced from the theoretical to the practical stage, the English Chamber of Commerce having put it on the examination list for applicants for situations. Our officers and magistrates in the Philippines are said to have found it useful. The present textbook, small and convenient, is designed for beginners and also for advanced students, both for self-instruction and for use in teaching. (Practical and Theoretical Esperanto. By Dr. Max Talmey. Universal Language Publishing Company, New York. $1.)

Fairy Tales Two notably pretty and prettily printed tales for children by Mrs. Burnett are "Queen Silver-Bell" and "Racketty-Packetty House." (Fairy Tales. The Century Company, New York. 60c. each.)

"Georgie" The "hero" of this tale simply could not help getting engaged to every pretty girl he met. Moreover, the pretty girls not only fell victim to his irresponsible love-making, but continued to like and admire him after the inevitable break came. Such a book might easily be made silly, but in fact this is thoroughly amusing. ("Georgie." By Dorothea Deakin. The Century Company, New York. $1.50.)

Heroes Every Child Should Know There is, happily, no lack of material for such a book as this, and to read it strengthens one's pride in humanity. Heroic figures of many races, ages, and types are here presented for young people to admire—some legendary, some semi-legendary, but for the most part men of actual and recorded deed, like David, Roland, King Alfred, Robert Bruce, Washington, Lee, Lincoln, and Father Damien. The stories are told by recognized writers of ability and fame, and the narratives have been selected not only because of the subjects but because of dramatic and vivid story-telling power. In his introduction Mr. Mabie recognizes the heroic possibilities in all men, and points out that these heroes were not faultless, but were brave, generous, self-forgetful, self-sacrificing, and capable of splendid deeds, and therefore may, through their stories, help make heroes in the present. (Heroes Every Child Should Know. Edited by Hamilton Wright Mabie. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 90c.)

The Historical Bases of Religion The author has riveted his gaze upon the darker phenomena of Jewish and also of Christian history, and presents an extremely low opinion both of Judaism and Christianity. "Modern research" has carried him to the opposite pole from John Stuart Mill's conclusion—skeptic though he was—that the Jews, jointly with the Greeks, "have been the starting-point and main propelling agency of modern cultivation." He has found out from some source not cited that "even Isaiah or Elijah unquestionably paid divine honors to other gods." He bitterly resents the New Testament appellation of Babylon as "mother of harlots," and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

devotes eighty pages to produce a contrary idea of the Babylonian religion, but nowhere reports the well-known fact that it sanctioned as an act of worship what we term prostitution. In his opinion "cosmic forces and the inexorable methods of their operation contain the only reliable hint of what we have dignified with the name of God." (The Historical Bases of Religions, Primitive, Babylonian, and Jewish. By Hiram Chellis Brown. Herbert B. Turner & Co., Boston. $1.50, net.)

In Treaty with Honor This is a semi-historical romance of Quebec during the futile attempt of French Canada in 1837 to establish its independence from the British crown. The episode was in itself of a kind to afford good material for this kind of tale, and the author, who will be remembered for her former novel, "A Daughter of New France," uses the situations with considerable dramatic effect. A love story mingles with plot and politics and is very prettily told. (In Treaty with Honor. By Mary Catherine Crowley. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50.)

Inventors and Invention Just as Mr. Iles's "Flame, Electricity, and the Camera" dealt with the romance of modern science, so his new book deals with the wonders of recent invention. In both one is struck with three qualities not by any means overcommon in works of popular science: first, thoroughness and completeness of knowledge; secondly, clearness of exposition and regard for the demands of the non-technical reader; third, a broad, comprehensive view of the relations of science and invention as evolutions of civilization—or, as Mr. Iles puts it, "of that involved drama of which this planet is by turns the stage and the spectator's gallery." The book is really extraordinary for the number of individual inventions and appliances described, and equally so for the way in which they are brought together in a co-ordinated and continuously interesting story of progress. There are many scores of pictures, portraits, and diagrams. (Inventors at Work. By George Iles. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $2, net.)

A Japanese Blossom This is the tale of an American-Japanese family; the second wife of the Japanese father is an American woman, and is brought home to Japan, where her children and their all-Japanese half-brothers and half-sisters live in one family. There is plenty of opportunity here for quaintness and humor, and, when the Russo-Japanese War breaks out, for tragedy also. The book is charmingly decorated in an appropriately semi-Japanese style. (A Japanese Blossom. By Onoto Watanna. Harper & Brothers, New York. $2, net.)

Literary By-Paths To have a cultivated book-lover for one's guide through the pleasant homes and haunts of literary life, aside from the beaten track of the tourists and trippers that throng to Stratford-on-Avon and Abbotsford, is the good fortune of Mr. Shelley's readers. He does not undertake the critic's rôle, but that of the accomplished cicerone, who has more to tell than is told in print. He introduces us to celebrities, among whom are such ancients as Spenser and Sir Philip Sidney, and such moderns as Carlyle, Hood, and Keats. Concerning these last he has gleaned fresh and characteristic material. The volume is enriched with over a hundred and twenty illustrations by his own camera, which he uses as effectively as his practiced pen. Many of his photographs put before us places or papers hitherto unpublished or not identified. Rarely does one come upon so charming a literary sketch-book as this. (Literary By-Paths in Old England. By Henry C. Shelley. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $3, net.)

A Little Son of Sunshine A pretty, well-managed story of a dear child who was taken for the summer from a "Home" in the city, where he lay crippled, by a good farmer and his wife. He was truly a sunshiny lad, and by his blessed faith in the kindness of human nature became a strong agent in promoting harmony in the neighborhood. He and Betty Hamilton were full of mischief, some of which threatened danger to the grown-up lovers of the tale. But all turned out right, and little Christopher found that he really had "relations," a possession for which he longed with his whole loving heart. (A Little Son of Sunshine. By Ellen Douglas Deland. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.25.)

The Mirror of the Sea The secret of the power of the English language is known to the writer who signs himself Joseph Conrad. In a recent book he reveals to us the romance, the greatness, of "the sea that plays with men till their hearts are broken, and wears stout ships to death." Open to all and faithful to none, he calls it, with a jealous, sleepless strength. To a practical knowledge of seamanship, of lading cargoes, ruling crews, managing and navigating vessels, Joseph Conrad adds the vision of a poet and exercises the witchcraft of a master of style. Careless of pointing a moral or adorning a tale, the seriousness of his thought impresses one with the profound

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moral meaning of everything he touches. Such chapters as "The Weight of the Burden" and "Initiation" are marvelous in this suggestive quality, while in "The Tremalino" an entirely different aspect of the writer's genius is displayed. (The Mirror of the Sea. By Joseph Conrad. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.)

Mr. Paul's History of England

That exceedingly useful and readable work, Mr. Herbert Paul's "A History of Modern England," is now brought to a close with a volume covering the decade 1885–1895—that is to say, the important years which witnessed the collapse of the Liberal party under the burden of Mr. Gladstone's zeal for Irish Home Rule, the rise of the Conservative party under the skillful guidance of Lord Salisbury, the revolutionary reforms in local government, the advent of the workingman as a political power, the first symptoms of the recent agitation to recede from the policy of free trade; and, abroad, the annexation of Burma, the partition of Africa, the coercion of Greece, and the fall of Bismarck, with the subsequent expansion of Germany as a trading and colonizing power. As before, Mr. Paul is concerned almost wholly with the political aspects of his subject, and, as was perhaps only to be expected, his narrative is dominated by the Irish question which so profoundly affected the fortunes of the leading statesmen of all parties. He thus undertakes the most difficult task that has fallen to him, and, if he has not accomplished it altogether satisfactorily—an impossibility in view of the fact that all the evidence is not yet at hand—he has accomplished it with considerable credit to himself and profit to his readers. Threading the tortuous phases of Irish politics with marvelous dexterity, he assists the student to grasp firmly the essentials in the stirring, if temporarily futile, drama enacted between the famous "empty house" meeting of Parnell and Lord Carnarvon and the final retirement of Gladstone—"the greatest man who had sat in the House of Commons since the younger, if not since the elder, Pitt." Outside the discussion of Irish matters, the most conspicuous features in this final volume are Mr. Paul's chapters on Lord Salisbury's foreign policy and on the growth of a militant trade-unionism, his characterizations of Gladstone, Salisbury, Bright, Churchill, Chamberlain, and Parnell, and the all too brief summary in which he reviews the main currents of the half-century he has surveyed. It need hardly be added that his pages are distinguished by the ease, candor, honesty, and incisiveness that gave such a charm to the earlier installments. (A History of Modern England. By Herbert Paul. Vol. V. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50, net.)

Morocco and Beyond

The author of "The Moors," "The Land of the Moors," and "The Moorish Empire" has enjoyed the distinction of being easily chief among authorities on Morocco. Inspired by Lane's example in Egypt, Mr. Meakin has essayed to do as much for the Moors, and during eighteen years has successfully labored to that end. His work has been peculiarly interesting and valuable, for Morocco is not only the one remaining independent Barbary State, but has latterly become the thorny subject of international wrangling, so much so, indeed, that the newspapers have undoubtedly contained more mention of Morocco during the past two years than in the twenty preceding. Mr. Meakin's latest volume, like his previous ones, owes much of its compelling charm to the writer's conviction that no country that had ever come before his notice excels Morocco in point of life and color, save Bokhara, and that no country rivals it, save certain parts of India and China. In the nearer East, Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripoli have lost much of their attractiveness under Turkish or under Western rule; Egypt only emphasizes this; Palestine contains a heterogeneous population, and the bazaars of Constantinople have now given way to plate-glass shops. Hence, as to real Oriental life, nothing remains in Mediterranean regions to outshine Morocco. The reader keen in the scent for every-day life and color will be specially interested in the first half of the present well-printed volume, in which the Berbers, merchants, story-tellers, medicine-men, slave-girls and other women-folk, are described. The reader more interested in the economic, diplomatic, political, and religious background will be attracted to the second part, wherein the author discourses of the protective system, the diplomatic situation, the advent of France in Morocco, and, in not the least impressive chapter, of "Justice for the Jew." (Life in Morocco and Glimpses Beyond. By Budgett Meakin. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3, net.)

Marcel Levignet

A detective story laid in Paris and including all the elements needed for profound sensation. The author is skilled in keeping apparently tangled threads in his hands, and unties several hard knots with all the ease of a practiced novel writer. The tone of the story is essentially French—sentiment, situation, and characters, and most especially the climax.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Marcel Levignet. By Elwyn Barron. Duffield & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Old Fort Johnson There are some obvious faults in Mr. W. Max Reid's "Old Fort Johnson"—a companion volume to the same author's "The Mohawk Valley"—but despite these it will probably enjoy a wide reading. Its chief blemishes are discursiveness, fragmentariness, and unnecessary repetition; its virtues are enthusiasm, informativeness, and entertainment. Not only does Mr. Reid give a most interesting account of the famous mansion on the Mohawk and its historic occupants—Sir William Johnson, the great White Chief whose influence with the Six Nations was supreme, and Sir William's son, the irreconcilable Tory; he recalls the events of the Revolutionary War that took place in the surrounding country; and, for good measure, adds Indian tales and legends, together with brief sketches of his personal explorations through the region, of which he evidently knows every foot. His book also boasts numerous and excellent illustrations. (Old Fort Johnson. By W. Max Reid. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $3, net.)

Old Japan Careful work and detailed knowledge are evident in this romance, written by I. William Adams. The period selected is the early part of the last century, and the plot revolves about the struggle between the Shogun and the Mikado, ending with the victory and restoration of the latter. Shibusawa, a true Japanese warrior, son of a daimio, fought well both in war and love, and in the end won honors and the maiden of his choice. The style of the book is somewhat too serious and prolix for a successful artistic effect. (Shibusawa. By I. William Adams. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.)

The Papacy in the Nineteenth Century These volumes by a bishop of the (Lutheran) State Church of Denmark, formerly Professor of Church History in the University of Copenhagen, are written from a point of view which the English editor, Dr. Arthur J. Mason, of Cambridge, likens to "that of a large-minded and statesmanlike High Churchman among ourselves." The first volume extends to the death of Pius VII. in 1823; the second to the death of Pius IX. in 1878. A third volume, soon to follow, covers the pontificate of Leo XIII. The historian goes back to the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the first fight for "the Pope's infallibility, which was the pith and marrow of the whole contention," was won by the Jesuits against the Gallican Jansenists. The subsequent history, which he relates down to the adoption of that dogma by the Vatican Council in 1870, might be summarized as the *Modern Development of Ultramontanism into Papal Autocracy*. "If any single man," says the historian, "were able to ascribe to himself the honor of this victory, it would be the Archbishop of Westminster [Cardinal Manning], *il diavolo del Concilio*." The various alternations of the long struggle which thus culminated, and the various factors, political, social, ecclesiastical, and personal, that interacted in it, are exhibited in a continuous narrative profuse in details, and punctuated here and there with interpretative comment. Hardly less influential on the course of events than crowned heads appear the Papal Secretaries, Consalvi under Pius VII., and the scandalous Antonelli under Pius IX. St. Alfonso de' Liguori, now the chief ethical teacher of Rome, as St. Thomas Aquinas is the chief dogmatic teacher, is pretty thoroughly dissected as a specimen of full-blown ultramontanism, of whom the Catholic Abbé Laborde spoke in 1851 as a guide on "the broad way which leads to destruction." The struggle for Italian unity and freedom gives enhanced interest to the second volume, which leaves the national sovereignty, enthroned on the Quirinal, at the beginning of its long duel with autocracy in the Vatican, the end of which is not yet. Bishop Nielsen's work is a magazine of facts dispassionately related, but somewhat lacking in the broad views of the course and tendency of events which make the narrative instructive to the general reader. (The History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century. By Dr. Fredrik Nielsen. Translated under the Direction of Arthur James Mason, D.D. In 2 vols. E P. Dutton & Co., New York. $7.50, net.)

Pegasus Tethered In Mary Moss's new novel, "The Poet and the Parish," good workmanship and entertaining qualities are happily combined. From the first page, where we are allowed to overhear the parish talk, to the last page, where is achieved an extraordinary and admirable climax, the interest never flags. Felix, a poet, and Adelaide, a daughter of convention, marry early in the story. The unusual skill shown in depicting these two natures, devoted yet absolutely apart except in mutual love, marks an epoch in contemporary fiction. There is no black and white in this novel. It is real. Felix is charming—yet we feel his distinct limitations. Adelaide is lovely, yet we cannot ignore her mistakes. Nina Graeme, the young actress who trips in the tangle of Pegasus's tether, and cousin Emily, a wise woman of eighty worldly years, are people it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is a privilege to know. The slight lack of emphasis put upon the undoubted fact that Felix voluntarily bowed his neck to the harness he himself chose, provides the one prejudiced note in the story. One of the cleverest chapters is entitled "While Others May Steal a Horse," and describes with infinite wit the efforts of Alice Le Grand, with her house friend Albert Yule, to lure her husband Harry into the ranks of the enlightened. Gorky proved too much for him. "And it's all a mistake," he fairly took the bit between his teeth, "to tell you so much at the start." In the Leavenworth Case, he sapiently pointed out, "you never know till the end who did it," which is delicious, and no more clever than several other bits in the story. (The Poet and the Parish. By Mary Moss. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Railway Organization The training of railway employees with the object of increasing their efficiency has been too lightly regarded by our schools and indeed by the railway companies themselves. The union of these two forces—schools and companies—is necessary to produce the right result in education. Such a result would appear to have been attained by the course introduced in the University of Chicago, with the co-operation of a number of companies, bearing upon a number of subjects connected with railway traffic—car construction, car distribution, the compound locomotive, the operating department, the passenger department, freight and passenger rates, suburban services, terminal yards, signaling, advertising, the law department, etc. As the present volume, edited by Mr. Ernest Ritson Dewsnup, is a compilation of scattered lectures delivered at the University of railway organization and working, it lays no claim to a balanced treatment of the whole subject of railway transportation. Special aspects are treated in a non-technical manner, though the authors of the essays comprise more than a score of eminent railway experts. This volume of five hundred pages should appeal to serious students of railway economics; it should also help them to realize the necessity of proper teaching, not only in our larger universities but in special railway schools. (Railway Organization and Working. Edited by Ernest Ritson Dewsnup. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. $2, net.)

A Romance of the Washingtons Mrs. Hugh Fraser has written a good story, with Mary Ball, the mother of Washington, as the central figure. The early romance that surprised the maiden into a knowledge of love occurred in England and entered into her character, making her ready for the influential life she led as the wife of Augustine Washington. The story is well arranged, the persons concerned are sufficiently lifelike, and the general effect of "In the Shadow of the Lord," the name given to the novel, is dignified and wholesome. (In the Shadow of the Lord. By Mrs. Hugh Fraser. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Saint Bernardine Two centuries after St. Francis of Assisi, his followers labored for a revival of religion contemporaneously with the revival of learning known as the Renaissance. A leading promoter of it was the saintly preacher of whom this volume is a memorial. An account of the moral and civic anarchy of the time forms the historical setting of the story of the revivalist's missionary life, the popular enthusiasm he kindled, his trials with ecclesiastical opponents, his sermons, and, finally, of the two Orders of the Franciscan Brotherhood, from the less to the more rigorous of which he went over. His most prominent characteristic was enthusiasm for the name of Jesus, and for imitation of him. Spiritually he was an immediate precursor of the more famous Savonarola, born about eight years after his death. (Saint Bernardine of Siena. By Paul Thureau-Dangin. Translated by Baroness G. von Hugel. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50, net.)

St. Paul to the Ephesians That great Biblical scholar, the late Bishop of Durham, left an all but finished commentary, which is here presented with an Introduction and Appendix to which friends and co-workers have supplied the larger part. The text is that of the last edition of Westcott and Hort's "New Testament." Added to it are the Vulgate (Latin) version of the fourth century and the versions of Wiclif and Tyndale. (Saint Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. By the late Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., S.C.L. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50, net.)

Scotland in Transition Although but recently imported into this country, Mr. Henry Grey Graham's "The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century" has for some years enjoyed considerable popularity in Great Britain, as has its companion volume, "Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century." Its period is one of prime importance, marking as it does the change from a well-nigh barbaric Scotland to a Scotland of industry, prosperity, thrift, and progress. When the eighteenth century opened, the land of Bruce and Wallace was in dismal straits, politically and socially isolated from the outside world, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inhabited by a lethargic, narrow-minded, despairing populace who were crushed under the burden of a poverty rendered tragic by recurring famines; when the century closed, national characteristics had conspicuously improved, stagnant towns had become busy marts of trade, barren wastes were now fertile farms, and the centuries of isolation had come to an end. All this has been brought out in general histories of the country, but perhaps never so vividly and certainly not in such detail as by Mr. Graham's book. His concern is not with the striking events of the century, the Union and the Rebellions of '15 and '45, but with its inner history as revealed by the life and manners of the people. Nothing seems to have escaped his eager scrutiny, and only those who have made research for themselves can appreciate the infinite labor and care that must have gone to the making of his treatise. He writes of the religion, the education, the agriculture, the science, the art of eighteenth-century Scotland, and he writes, too, of every little phase of the life of the eighteenth-century Scotchman—the clothes he wore, the food he ate and drank, the money he used and the way he used it, his houses, his inns, his streets and roads, his recreations. Always Mr. Graham is informing and always he is entertaining, his pages being lightened with a wealth of gossipy but illuminating allusion and anecdote, and his style faithfully mirroring the changing aspects of his theme. (The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century. By Henry Grey Graham. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.)

The Silent War

"Eyes too reverently fixed, and for too long a period, upon the glories of the treasure-house discern but vaguely the hungry toilers among the shadows in the malodorous places," writes Mr. Mitchell in the dedication of his new novel, "The Silent War," and he commends it to "the comfortable people who continue to expound the law of the Survival of the Fittest." The story deals with a group of multi-millionaires who become the victims of a socialistic movement—a popular awakening resulting in such radical measures as blackmail and assassination—and the plot is complicated by a love affair between one of the money kings and the daughter of one of the members of the People's League. Mr. Mitchell has the fine instinct of the story-teller, and in spite of his serious motive he never abandons himself to impersonal discussions, using constantly the light and imaginative touch which entertains. Yet it is a little difficult to throw a problem of this sort into the form of fiction, and the convention of the novelist now and then gives a quality of vagueness and unreality to the vital situation. But the book as a whole is an extremely interesting social study, written with quiet charm but decidedly radical in its suggestion, although the closing action has none of the quality of a solution in that it falls back upon individual relationships and special instances. The frontispiece and three following pictures by Mr. Balfour Ker are worthy of special notice. Mr. Ker is pre-eminently a painter of ideas, and in illustrating "The Silent War" his method is original. He presents four pictures which are a direct and powerful expression of Mr. Mitchell's theme, but which bear no relation to the definite characters of the story. Through their unusual imaginative force and perfect sincerity of treatment they are sure to command attention. (The Silent War. By J. A. Mitchell. Life Publishing Company, New York. $1.50.)

The Soul of an Artist

The outpourings of a soul set in a solitary place may be either morbid extravagance or a noble consolatory expression which may discover another soul to itself. This revelation is very far from the first, and does not entirely reach the second, in literature. The writer portrays her early life as inexpressibly sad. A sensitive, quiet little child, unable to find expression, she was brought up in an alien air, surrounded by coarse and stupid peasants, yet she gradually recognized within herself a power which made her a world-renowned artist in later years. She writes with abandon, yet with a delicate and perfect reserve, addressing herself to a friend who had come into her life after popular success had rewarded her art Necessarily her temperament obliges her to wing her way to mystical heights, yet she returns as one who loves her Mother Earth with a passionate devotion. The book is one for those to whom Amiel appealed, but it is of slighter construction and less permanent value. The Italian author "Neera," who is known as a versatile writer, is excellently translated by E. L. Murison, and the form of the volume is most attractive. (The Soul of an Artist. Translated from the Italian of Neera by E. L. Murison. Paul Elder & Co., San Francisco. $1.50, net.)

Stones of Paris

A new edition of one of the most charming books about the French capital from American hands, published originally seven years ago. (The Stones of Paris in History and Letters. By Benjamin Ellis Martin and Charlotte M. Martin. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Syllogistic Philosophy The author regards his work as presenting "a new system of philosophy:" it seems rather to be a new, or at most a novel, method of philosophy. Its title "syllogistic" means logical in the formal and technical sense of the word, conclusive as opposed to sophistical—the distinctive character of a correct syllogism being the necessary sequence of the conclusion from the premises. The author, one of the bright spirits of the Concord school of thinkers, left for posthumous publication these volumes as the results of a lifetime of study. His supreme interest is "absolute religion as free and intelligent obedience to an absolute moral law," and it is his conviction that the philosophy on which such religion can be grounded must itself be grounded on "absolute"—by which he seems to mean necessary—logic. The elaborateness with which he develops the logical process—giving sixty-three pages to the implications of the statement, "human knowledge exists," as the ground-axiom on which philosophy begins to build—permits no more here than notice of leading features. The determining principle of the whole structure is that "whatever is evolved as consequent must be involved as antecedent." The outcome of this "principle of absolute logic" is that personality, in the philosophic sense of the word, is "both the source and outcome of all that is," and that philosophy at last becomes "theology modernized as scientific realism and scientific theism." Dr. Abbot shows marked affinity with Hegel, especially in his constant use of the Hegelian principle of identity in difference. He substitutes for Hegel's subjective intellectual idealism the more objective ethical idealism which realizes its objects in its doings. To give this the name of "realism" seems less appropriate, but of no great consequence. To Hegel's aphorism, "die to live," ethical idealism, now in growing influence, adds this other, "do to know"—a maxim that was Jesus' own. Dr. Abbot exhibits this in the syllogistic form which he makes everywhere conspicuous. This is not at first attractive; its novelty seems somewhat eccentric, but this impression wears off. The novel terminology once mastered, the new method becomes interesting. (The Syllogistic Philosophy. By Francis Ellingwood Abbot, Ph.D. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. In 2 vols. $5, net.)

The Victory Among the many romances written recently about the Civil War, this one by Miss Seawell takes a high place. While the plot cannot be novel, it is admirably managed, and proceeds upon its simple way without the least touch of melodrama. One son in the army of the North, the other in the army of the South, coming from a Virginia home of the highly cherished romantic character, make the situation—with, of course, a sweet girl to add the element of young love to the scene. The Virginian home is delightfully lifelike, and the slaves are not stage puppets, but actual old-time negroes. An interesting quality is supplied by the clever author in Lyddon, the English tutor, who watches the terrible struggle both in the hearts of the family torn by war and in the broader arena of the country's disaster. Altogether, "The Victory," a title significant in several ways, makes a strong appeal to the lover of a good tale. (The Victory. By Molly Elliot Seawell. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

A Woman's Club Story If any one doubts the power of a woman's club to assuage grief, develop wisdom and justice, occupy completely a lonely woman's time, and prepare her for a happy second marriage, that one must not miss reading "The President of Quex," by Helen M. Winslow. The modern woman in activity is described by the author with ability and great enthusiasm, and she is craftily shown as charmingly fashionable in the pictures, and shows herself able to move the hearts of men to love in the story. Yet we close the little book with a smile compounded of amusement and skepticism. (The President of Quex. By Helen M. Winslow. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Company, Boston. $1.25.)

Works of Mrs. Gaskell Few novels of their time are better known than is "Cranford," the charming simplicity, *naïveté*, and old-time refinement of which have appealed so strongly to this generation that the book has been put before it in many forms with much excellent illustration. It is doubtful, however, whether Mrs. Gaskell is known by any other of her stories, and yet several of them are well worth reading. This attractive edition, which is substantial and tasteful without being too elaborate, is furnished with a general biography and critical introduction by Dr. A. W. Ward, both in the key of eulogy. The biography is an appreciation of a woman who deserved the great affection in which she was held. The introduction overstates, in some respects, the value of Mrs. Gaskell's work; but, barring these faults of emphasis, the edition leaves little to be desired. Such stories as "Ruth," "Mary Barton," and "Cranford," for their quiet charm, their delicate characterization, their warm human feeling, and their purity, deserve the widest possible reading. (Works of Mrs. Gaskell. Knutsford Edition, 8 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50 each.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to The Outlook

THE ATLANTA RIOTS

I.

The Outlook has been generous in the space which it has given to a consideration of the Atlanta riots; and to ask for a further word on the matter must seem inconsiderate. But Mr. McKelway, in his paper written from the Southern white man's point of view, emphasizes so strongly the matter of assault upon women as the cause of the riot that, as a woman, I would ask to be permitted to say a word upon the matter from a somewhat different standpoint.

Fifteen assaults or attempts at assault within a year are given by Mr. McKelway as the cause of the Atlanta outbreak. We must realize that these accounts are given by white people, not by negroes. To touch a woman in Georgia is a crime, and the negro janitor who was sentenced for a year, according to his story, was only helping the girl who complained against him to find her hat-pin, pushing her aside as he knelt on the floor and saying, "Let me look, honey." Fear exaggerates crime, and white women to-day everywhere are being trained to fear colored men; but, making allowance for all this, there would seem to have been a number of attacks by Africans upon women of the Caucasian race.

The negroes, Mr. McKelway says, are our criminal class. But if assault is a crime, especially assault upon women, then the negro is not the only criminal class. For every charge of assault that the white man brings against the black man, the black man can bring an equally important one against the white man. I knew myself of two very brutal attacks, horrible in their details, that were made upon little colored girls by white men this summer in Atlanta. Brutal rudeness, such as some of the Atlanta cases appear to be, has been experienced by virtuous colored women of the city.

Now change the words "white" to aristocrat and "colored" to proletariat, and you have a condition that is not uncommon over all this Christian world. The chivalry of men is often extended only to women of their own class. It would be well if more of us should hear the story that many an Irish girl could tell us of her experience in domestic service. Taking the first position that she can secure, she may find a home where her womanhood is not respected. She escapes or overcomes by her indomitable pluck, but there are no headlines in the evening papers, and the man who has sought her ruin goes unpunished. Yet this same man stands ready to protect his own women with his life. I remember, after a winter of unusually happy times in a college town, hearing an older girl say to a younger one in a working-girls' club, "Don't have anything to do with the college fellows. A decent girl keeps away from them." My own class, that brought me companionship and safety, was known to her as a danger.

When Javert brought Fantine before Jean Valjean, the Mayor, he presented the case as that of a prostitute insulting a property-owner. No matter that the evidence showed that the man had first struck the girl between her naked shoulders; she was an outcast and he a respected citizen. Jean Valjean saw a deeper justice, as do we at times; but we are still all too ready to protect our own class, to gloss our own sins. And this is more true when the sinner is a man than a woman. The citizen who has been well born, who has had education and opportunity, may assault a helpless, unprotected woman, and never be brought to justice; he does not belong to the criminal class; but the untrained, unlettered man, whose school has been the dirty alley or the chain-gang, is fortunate if his foul deed leads him to the gallows, not to the stake. Those of us who wish to understand what is in the heart of the negro as well as of the white man in Atlanta must recognize that there ar e these two kinds of justice in the city; and it should not be difficult for us to understand this, as the same situation, in a less exaggerated form, is present wherever we find a marked division between the moneyed and the working class.

MARY WHITE OVINGTON.

[Miss Ovington writes out of a practical acquaintance with the colored population of New York.—THE EDITORS.]

II.

Perhaps it would be too much to expect that Carrie W. Clifford, Honorary President of the Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs, should feel and write otherwise than as she does. But, like most of those arguing the negro's side of the Atlanta affair, she makes unfortunate mistakes—mistakes that I cannot forbear correcting.

Mrs. Clifford writes:

> Thomas Nelson Page's suggestion might possibly be a good thing, provided the idea of negro policemen obtained throughout the whole régime. I mean if there were also negro judges, lawyers, and juries to try negro lawbreakers arrested by negro police; for if you know aught of these things in the South, you know that for a negro to get justice is almost impossible.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fortunately, some of The Outlook's readers do "know aught of these things in the South," and, knowing aught, know that there is naught of fact in the writer's statement.

I am sure that the editors of The Outlook are familiar with that great address of Henry W. Grady at Boston on the race problem, in which Mr. Grady asserted that in Georgia the negro criminal almost invariably challenged the negroes that were drawn on the jury to try his case. I worked for five years in the court-rooms of Northumberland County, Virginia, and time and again have I seen Mr. Grady's assertion proved—the negro criminal, either of his own initiative or by his counsel's advice, challenging the negroes that were drawn to serve on his jury, showing thereby that he preferred the justice of the white man rather than that which his own race might mete to him.

Why?

Because usually the negro juror is so inflated with a false dignity that he cannot be depended on to judge the evidence impartially, but is more inclined to show his authority by favoring conviction and the maximum penalty for the accused. I understand that this situation prevails all over the South, and those who argue that Southern courts do not give the negro justice have a task before them in getting rid of the fact.

The fact that injustice was done a number of innocent negroes in the Atlanta affair (just as many innocent white women suffered) ought not to blind any one to the truth that Southern courts are more inclined to favor the negro just because he is a negro. The only possible exception to this might be in the case of the nameless crime, where doubtless a maximum penalty would be imposed on conviction.

In the county of Northumberland there was, when I lived in Virginia, a negro magistrate, likewise so afflicted with the aforesaid false dignity that his own people whenever possible carried their cases before the white magistrates.

Mrs. Clifford errs irretrievably in contending for the right and the possible desirability of assimilation—that is, if she hopes for a peaceful solution of the great problem—for the nameless crime and mention of assimilation are the red flags of the conflict. The Outlook is right in saying that such a solution of the problem is not open to argument. Yet Mrs. Clifford, in referring with evident pride to her traditional white ancestry, shows that the white race may expect this aspiration from the black.

There will continue to be miscegenation among the immoral of the races, and that is terrible enough. But more than this there will never be, and the day of better relations between the races may dawn when the blacks forget their aspiration to intermarry with the whites.

Mrs. Clifford writes further:

"Nevertheless, I recognize the right of any man, black or white, to make his own choice in the matter of marital relationship."

Whence comes the right? Waiving aside the high law of race preservation, what law exists that gives the blacks the right to marry white women or white men the right to marry black women? The Constitution of the United States does not give it. The truth is that the marital relation is controlled entirely by State laws, and in Virginia it is a felony for blacks and whites to intermarry. If the black man in Virginia can find a white woman that wants to marry him, they must go to some other place.

Finally, in these days when the errorist is abroad in the land charging that the South hates the well-behaved, well-meaning negro citizen and denies him justice, I have pride in referring to a recent reference in the columns of The Outlook to the case of Mrs. Sadie Crabbe, a white woman of my native county in Virginia, who, leaving her family of little children, ventured out upon the ice of the Wicomico River to save a negro youth who had fallen in, and gave up her life in so doing. Such incidents as these—and there are many of like spirit—must confuse those who knowingly or ignorantly spread false ideas on America's great race problem.

S. ROLAND HALL.

Scranton, Pennsylvania.

THE WHITE PLAGUE

I thank you for the review of my book "Consumption and Civilization" which appeared in your issue of October 13. Your reviewer quotes correctly that "benefit is a matter of months, arrest of years, cure of many years." The latter clause may seem a hard statement; but it need not be so at all. The dictum "absolute cure is a matter of many years" is Osler's; and it holds in general terms, although, as your reviewer has found, many patients become quite well within a couple of years. However, the patient who does not has no reason to be discouraged; because, after the first few months of treatment, all that he must do is to lead the physiological life—and this is no hardship whatever, but a great satisfaction. For under these circumstances he is no sufferer, but rather enjoys an unusual sense of well-being and of freedom from physical distress. He is, if he but lives normally, much better off than many another who has not been ill, and who imagines that he may

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with impunity subject his body to all sorts of irregularities.

JOHN B. HUBER.

New York City.

"THE WHITE PLAGUE" FROM THE VICTIM'S POINT OF VIEW

In The Outlook of October 13 there appeared an article entitled "Fighting the White Plague," which outlined strongly the means of carrying infection in tuberculosis, and emphasized the accepted principles of rational treatment now in vogue. The knowledge that is to rob consumption of many of its victims is new to most people, and is, in most instances, imperfectly assimilated. In fact, so much is usually lost sight of that what remains is largely influenced by unreasoning, ignorant fear of this disease. The civic study of tuberculosis has progressed so far, at present, that all information regarding the dangers of infection should be accompanied by the assurance that, under certain conditions, the consumptive is not a menace to the community in which he lives.

It should certainly be known that the phthisical patient can spread his disease by indiscriminate spitting, and that the act of coughing projects myriads of bacilli to a distance of six feet from his mouth; it should be a matter of common knowledge that the tuberculous patient should occupy his bed alone; and that his table utensils, towels, handkerchiefs, etc., should be for his sole use, and subject to systematic disinfection.

The free dissemination of this information should do much towards reducing the death-rate in consumption.

But it should also be known, and for the sake of suffering humanity, that, as above stated, these patients may become quite as harmless neighbors as well people. For instance, when the patient carefully covers his mouth when coughing, when he uses the spit-cloth or tissue napkin for his sputum (which may thereafter be burned), and when he is particular not to use any drinking-cup or other utensils than his own, he is not likely to infect any of his fellow-men. It should also be known that there is no infection possible through the perspiration nor from the breath in quiet breathing, nor from any secretion save the sputum. It must also be said, in justice to the victim of the White Plague, that he is almost always willing to observe regulations which tend to prevent the spread of the disease; and in those cases where such rules are not observed it will be found that ignorance of them exists.

Where such lack of knowledge is found, education is the obvious means of protecting those in the immediate neighborhood of such a one. This work of teaching patients to care for themselves is best done in sanatoria, whence the consumptive often departs to his home to spread the gospel of fresh air and sunlight. The sanatorium is in effect an educational center where those who most need it may be instructed how best to combat this desperate affliction. It may be supposed that where the laws of hygiene and prevention are the guides to clean and healthful living, no danger should exist for the well individual; and this is true. According to Aufrecht, the German tuberculogist, the number of physicians and nurses who contract the disease in sanatoria is considerably less than one per cent. of those so employed. Contrast this with the rates among the trades having the lowest death rates, namely, merchants 17 per cent., sailors 15 per cent., brakemen 14 per cent., and miners with 6.4 per cent. On this showing what is to prevent the establishment of sanatoria in every community, supposing the means to be forthcoming? Nothing but the fear of consumption which is based on ignorance. However, the understanding which the public is acquiring in regard to this great problem must needs lead to intelligent co-operation with those who are working to-day. If this terrible scourge is ever to be stamped out, or even materially checked, a clear realization of modifying conditions must accompany the combined efforts of society, private as well as public, and this means an end to the blind fear of the "trained" consumptive and a disappearance of the foolish hostility to the well-conducted tuberculosis sanatorium.

ETHAN A. GRAY, M.D.

Chicago, Illinois.

A CORRECTION FROM SYRIA

In Miss Wheeler's interesting article in The Outlook of September 1, entitled "The Trained Nurse in Turkey," the statement is made that up to the present time but one Training-School for Nurses has been established in Turkey—the school at Marsovan. I am glad to say that, great as is the need to-day for such schools in the Empire, the state of things is not quite as bad as this. For several years nurses have received training in the admirable British hospitals in Tiberias and Damascus, and over a year ago the Training-School for Nurses in connection with the Medical Department of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirût was opened. The course, theoretical and practical, covers three years.

HOWARD S. BLISS,
President Syrian Protestant College.

Beirût, Syria.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DIRT IS VARIOUS—always out of place. It mars lives and homes and people. 'Tis the best of good manners to be clean. A cake of HAND SAPOLIO is half a social introduction.

CITY SOIL IS SMUT, smoke, grime. Country soil is just clean dirt; wholesome, but not pretty. Both yield to HAND SAPOLIO. The daintiest soap made. Indispensable to everyone who desires the real beauty of perfect cleanliness.

THE PORES are the safety valves of the body. If they be kept in perfect order by constant and intelligent bathing a very general source of danger from disease is avoided. HAND SAPOLIO is unequaled as a gentle, efficacious pore-opener. Other soaps chemically dissolve the dirt—HAND SAPOLIO removes it. Other soaps either gloss over the pores, or by excess of alkali absorb the healthful secretions which they contain.

Its price is small, its use a fine habit

SAFE BEYOND QUESTION and 4%

income assured. Capital and surplus of five million dollars and resources exceeding thirty million dollars are ample guarantee of the safety of funds deposited in this well-known bank. You can

BANK BY MAIL

as easily as you can bank at home. Send for our free booklet "G" giving full information.

The Cleveland Trust Company
(SAVINGS BANK)
CLEVELAND OHIO
Sixty-one thousand depositors.

VOSE

HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED
54 YEARS
and are receiving more favorable comments to-day from an artistic standpoint than all other makes combined.

WE CHALLENGE COMPARISONS.

By our easy payment plan every family in moderate circumstances can own a **VOSE** piano. We allow a liberal price for old instruments in exchange, and deliver the piano in your house free of expense. You can deal with us at a distant point the same as in Boston. Catalogue, books, etc., giving full information mailed free.

VOSE & SONS PIANO CO.,
160 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

PIANOS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When You Look in Your Mirror Are You Satisfied?

Any Woman Can Have Good Health a Refined Face and Good Figure

EVERY WOMAN should preserve her health, strength, beauty, poise and, with these, her happiness. It is my success in treating nearly 20,000 women and my knowledge of what my work has done for them that makes me know I can do as much for you.

Let me give you a perfectly balanced organism. Let me give you a perfect blood supply and circulation; a nervous system in which each nerve center properly directs the organ it controls. The resultant strong vitality will enable you to resist disease, and I will make you what you were intended to be—strong, happy, graceful, beautiful—loving and beloved, with a mental calm which is life power and true beauty, making your life a satisfaction to yourself, *making you the delight and admiration of your friends.*

MISS COCROFT AT HER DESK

Only 15 Minutes a Day Give me 15 minutes of your time each day, in your own home, by following my simple directions. Just a little care is all you need to make you the ideal woman of your type. Do not say it is impossible, that nature has not given you the first requirements of health and beauty—I know it is possible; I *have accomplished it for thousands*

Drugs are Dangerous

I use no drugs. I never treat a pupil I cannot help. If I cannot help you I will tell you so.

I Keep Women Young Do you think "True Motherhood" means devotion of mother to her family and neglect of herself? True?—No, the true mother is true to her sacred duty of preserving and protecting herself, that she may be of greatest service to her family. The true mother keeps well, beautiful and young, that she may be a true wife—the delight of her husband, his joy, rest, social help and inspiration, and enjoy the confidence and admiration of her children.

If you could sit beside me, at my desk, I could, if I would, show you, daily, hundreds of letters from pupils I have helped. *I never violate a confidence, never show a letter without permission;* but here are a few snatches from one morning's mail:

What My Pupils Say of My Work

I wish every nervous teacher could know what benefit is to be derived from your physical culture.
I have lost 73 pounds, and was never better. I look ten years younger.
My constipation and biliousness are entirely relieved.
Just think how I have gained, since I began with you, from 112 to 137½ lbs. in one year.
My catarrh and lungs are much better and my body, which was a bony, crooked structure, is actually beginning to look like your picture of correct poise.
My head is steady, the confused feeling having passed away. It is the best spent money ever used for myself.
Just think, Miss Cocroft, before I took up your work I could not eat anything without the greatest distress, and now I think I could DIGEST TACKS. I am so happy.

How to Stand and Walk Remember, I give you personal instruction, after careful study of your symptoms and condition. When you request details about my lessons, I send you, **Free**, a booklet showing you how to stand and walk correctly, with a card of correct poise for your dressing table.

Personal Instructions Write me fully about your case, also letting me know your faults of figure, etc. I will make a personal study of your case and will let you know whether I can help you or not. Your letter will be held in strict confidence. I never publish letters without special permission, though I can send you hundreds of testimonials from women I have helped, who are only too glad to have me show their letters.

SUSANNA COCROFT, Dept. 8 57 Washington Street, CHICAGO

Author of "Growth in Silence," "Character as Expressed in the Body," Etc.

The following are some of the ailments I correct. For details about my personal instruction, write me which symptoms apply to your case. If you are suffering from any other ailment write me fully and I will frankly tell you, without charge, if I can help you.

Too short
Thin bust
Thin chest
Thin arms
Thin neck
Round shouldered
Superfluous flesh
Prominent hips
Protruding abdomen
Height
Weight
Do you stand correctly
Complexion
Do you walk gracefully
Weakness
Lame back
Dullness
Irritable
Nerves
Headaches
Catarrh
Dizziness
Indigestion
Constipation
Liver
Kidneys
Lungs
Heart
Throat
Colds
Rheumatism
Circulation
Blood
Is your health or figure imperfect in any way not mentioned here?
Occupation?
What is your age?
Married or Single?

Write me TODAY!

NOTE—Miss Cocroft, as President of Physical Culture Extension Work in America, needs no further introduction.

English "Heetorboil" Dish Warmers

TEA AND COFFEE SETS

in Copper and Brass

LEWIS & CONGER

130 and 132 West 42d Street, and 135 West 41st Street, New York

Heart Palpitation

is caused by generation of gas in the stomach. Charcoal absorbs all gases, and stops fermentation.

MURRAY'S CHARCOAL TABLETS

are made of purest charcoal. Try them for palpitation of the heart, dyspepsia, and indigestion.

FOR 10c. in stamps, a full size 25c. box mailed for trial. Once only.

A. J. Ditman, 30 Astor House, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COFFEE IMPORTERS

Publish a Book About Coffee

There has been much discussion as to Coffee and Postum lately, so much in fact that some of the coffee importers and roasters have taken to type to promote the sale of their wares and check if possible the rapid growth of the use of Postum Food Coffee.

In the coffee importers' book a chapter is headed "Coffee as a Medicine," and advocates its use as such.

Here is an admission of the truth, most important to all interested.

Every physician knows, and every thoughtful person should know, that habitual use of any "medicine" of the drug-stimulant type of coffee or whiskey quickly causes irritation of the tissues and organs stimulated and finally sets up disease in the great majority of cases if persisted in. It may show in any one of the many organs of the body and in the great majority of cases can be directly traced to coffee in a most unmistakable way by leaving off the active irritant—coffee—and using Postum Food Coffee for a matter of 10 days. If the result is relief from nervous trouble, dyspepsia, bowel complaint, heart failure, weak eyes, or any other malady set up by a poisoned nervous system, you have your answer with the accuracy of a demonstration in mathematics.

"There's a reason" for Postum.

WHERE YOUR MONEY EARNS 5%

FIVE PER CENT is a fair return to receive on your savings, and your money invested with the Industrial Savings and Loan Co. may be made to yield this amount and be as safely invested as if earning only 3% or 4%.

Our patrons participate in the earnings of a non-speculative business conducted

UNDER SUPERVISION OF NEW YORK BANKING DEPARTMENT

and regularly examined by them. Our funds are loaned upon New York and suburban real estate—the safest form of investment.

WE ARE PAYING 5% PER YEAR

on savings accounts, which bear earnings for every day in our care, subject to withdrawal whenever you desire.

Let us show you how we are able to handle your savings accounts to better advantage than most other banking institutions.

Established 13 Years
Assets $1,750,000

INDUSTRIAL SAVINGS and LOAN Co. NEW YORK CITY

Industrial Savings and Loan Co.
10 Times Building Broadway, New York

WE SEND FREE

to any part of the United States our new Winter Style Book, showing the latest New York Fashions, and containing our simple measurement chart; also a large assortment of samples of the newest materials.

We can save you money in the purchase of your Winter garment. Don't buy the ready-made kind when for less money we will make one to your measure.

WINTER SUITS $6 to $25

MADE TO ORDER IN TEN DAYS

Perfect Fit Guaranteed or Money Refunded

There is nothing that will improve your appearance so much as a perfect-fitting garment, which can only be obtained by having it made to order. Many a good figure is spoiled by an ill-fitting "ready-made."

Our Style Book Illustrates and Describes:

Visiting Costumes, $6.00 to $20
Tailor-Made Suits, $7.50 to $25
Stylish Skirts, $3.50 to $15
Winter Coats, $6.50 to $25
Ulsters and Rain Coats, $8.75 to $20

We prepay express charges on these garments to any part of the United States, which means a big saving to you.

The advantages we offer are: Prompt Service, Low Prices, Latest New York Styles and Materials, Relief from Dressmaking Troubles, and *your money back if you want it.*

Write for our Style Book and samples to-day; we will send them to you **free** by return mail.

National Cloak & Suit Co.

119 and 121 West 23d Street, New York

Mail Orders Only No Agents or Branches Established 18 Years

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE YOUTH'S COMPANION

52 Issues for $1.75 *and Extra Free Numbers.*

American History Told in Stories

Teachers and learners alike will welcome this series of stories which present great personalities and great crises in the Nation's history. There will be five groups of tales: Winning of Independence—The Young Nation—The National Advance—Before the War—The Civil War. To all readers they offer the potent attraction of the best historical fiction.

The Companion offers as much reading in the year as would fill twenty 400-page novels or books of history or biography ordinarily costing $1.50 each.

Send for Sample Copies and Illustrated Announcement for 1907, Free.

EVERY NEW SUBSCRIBER

Who cuts out and sends this slip (or mentions this publication) with $1.75 for The Companion for the 52 weeks of 1907 will receive

BLA125

FREE

All the issues of The Companion for the remaining weeks of 1906.
The Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Year's Double Numbers.
The Companion's 12-color Four-Leaf Hanging Calendar for 1907.

$16,290 *in cash and many other special awards to subscribers who get new subscriptions. Send for information.*

THE YOUTH'S COMPANION, BOSTON, MASS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED